

JPRS-UPA-91-010  
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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

***Political Affairs***

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## Political Affairs

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### CONTENTS

19 February 1991

#### NATIONAL PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

##### Baltics

Estonian Mayor Seeks Permission To Move to Canada [A. Moloveryan; SELSKAYA ZHIZN, 9 Feb 91]	1
Estonian Foreign Minister on Mission [P. Kala; PAEVELEHT, 13 Nov 90]	1
Lithuania's Nationalist Union Chairman Interviewed [R. Smetona; EKHO LITVY, 6 Dec 90]	2
Timetable for Implementation of Lithuania's State Language [EKHO LITVY, 6 Dec 90]	3
Lithuania's Social Democratic Party Chairman Interviewed [K. Antanavicius; EKHO LITVY, 28 Nov 90]	3

##### Caucasus

New Armenian Communist Party Charter Approved [GOLOS ARMENII, 16 Dec 90]	6
Basic Provisions of Armenian Communist Party Program Approved [GOLOS ARMENII, 16 Dec 90]	11

##### Central Asia

Appeal to Central Asian Military Deserters [KOMSOMOLETZ UZBEKISTANA, 15 Sep 90]	17
Leader Yestekov Explains 'Islam and Democracy' Movement Goals [A. Yestekov; TRUD, 12 Dec 90]	17
Addendum: T. Y. Yestekov Report to Uzbek CP Congress	20
IV. For . . . Efficient Independent Economy [PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 5 Jun 90]	20
V. The Political Sovereignty of Uzbekistan, the Place and Role of the Uzbek CP in the Republic Political System [PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 5 Jun 90]	27
VI. In Response to the Spiritual and Moral Health of Society [PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 5 Jun 90]	32
VII. On Democracy and Party Unity [PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 5 Jun 90]	35
December Session of 22nd Uzbek Communist Party Congress	37
Information Report for 7 December [PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 8 Dec 90]	37
Karimov Address on Economy, Union Treaty, Party Future [PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 8 Dec 90]	37
Information Report for 8 December [PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 9 Dec 90]	44

#### LAW AND ORDER

Official Comments on Joint Patrols Decree [N. Smirnov, Yu. Ovchinnikov; RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, 31 Jan 91]	45
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#### SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ISSUES

Declining Influence of Komsomol Alternative Group Explained [R. Arifdzhanov; SOBESEDNIK No 39, Sep 90]	46
Turkmen Health Official on Muslim Family Planning Changes [S. Kadyrov; MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI, 5 Sep 90]	48
Narcotics Production Rises, All Union Anti-Drug Program Urged [V. Kondakov; SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 12 Sep 90]	49
Trade Union for Muslim Clergy Created [V. Biryukov; TRUD, 29 Jan 91]	50
Armenian Association of Businesswomen Formed [S. Bablunyan; IZVESTIYA, 13 Feb 91]	51
Sarp Border Gate Promises Growth in Tourism [S. Eyuboglu; Istanbul DUNYA, 11 Jan 91]	51

## Baltics

### Estonian Mayor Seeks Permission To Move to Canada

91P50086A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian  
9 Feb 91 p 6

[Article by TASS correspondent A. Moloveryan: "The Mayor Is Emigrating"]

[Text] Tallinn—A session of the Vilyandi City Soviet has unanimously expressed its lack of confidence in the chairman of the city soviet and city mayor, Akhto Ani. It removed him from his official duties in absentia because after going to Finland on vacation with his family, he proceeded to Sweden, and, according to current rumors, is at present awaiting permission to move to Canada.

### Estonian Foreign Minister on Mission

91UF0383A Tallinn PAEVALEHT in Estonian  
13 Nov 90 p 1

[Article by P. Kala: "Estonia's Foreign Policy Is Not a 100-Meter Sprint"]

[Text] The foreign ministries of the Republic of Estonia and Great Britain will proceed from the concept of a transitional period adopted by our Supreme Soviet as a basis for developing future relations between them. This was emphasized by EV [Republic of Estonia's] Foreign Minister Lennart Meri at the press conference yesterday morning held at Toompea that was dedicated to his recently completed working visit to London and Paris.

Our concept of a transitional period is unique in the annals of international law. According to the minister, however, it was well received in London. Based on this concept an agreement was reached, in principle, to exchange delegations representing the interests of both states, with locations in London and in Tallinn. Estonia will also be given an opportunity to use the help of British experts in solving problems pertaining to international law.

In the course of his visit, Foreign Minister Meri explained to the British politicians the need for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to join in the Helsinki process. Namely, a definitive stand of the Western states supporting the Baltic states' participation in the European security and cooperation negotiations is bound to have a positive effect on our relations with Moscow.

Significant, according to Lennart Meri, is also the fact that the British Foreign Ministry, and the British political public were made aware of the necessity to separate western economic aid to the Baltic states from that given to the Soviet Union. Foreign Minister Meri also reminded his audiences in both London and Paris that the Soviet Union has no mandate to speak on behalf of the Baltic states. It is especially relevant to emphasize

this in connection with preparations for the treaty that is to reduce both conventional arms and the military presence in Europe.

In the course of his visits Lennart Meri also explained to the politicians of both Britain and France his understanding of the processes taking place in the Soviet Union. The minister said he repudiated the theory of the so-called domino effect that, according to wide-spread opinion in the West, would follow after the Baltic states become independent.

Foreign Minister Meri emphasized repeatedly throughout his press conference that achieving independence for Estonia is a process. "Our foreign policy that is, for all practical purposes, restoring the independent Republic of Estonia is a process that has begun and that will never stop. Today, we are not the same we were yesterday, and tomorrow we hope to be different from what we are today," Lennart Meri said, adding: "In our foreign policy, we are not dealing with 100-meter sprint, nor with the question of who gets to the finish line first."

We know that, last Friday, the Baltic Council resolved that an attempt should be made to add a section dealing with the Baltic states to the treaty now being prepared for limiting conventional arms in Europe. The prospect that this will succeed is, in the words of Lennart Meri, "infinitely bigger than zero." Soviet Union's treaties with the not-yet unified Germany, and subsequently with the reunified Germany, have caused tensions in Europe that are not talked about in the media, but that are there nevertheless. Being aware of these tensions, and taking advantage of them, is an opportunity that we must seize.

Lennart Meri said that he had reached an agreement in Paris according to which the *Foreign Ministry of France has turned its full attention to the matter of Baltic states' participation in the CSCE summit talks, and will resolve it in a manner acceptable to both itself and to us.* Reportedly, several groups from Estonia will be going to Paris. Lennart Meri said that the Foreign Ministry welcomes all efforts in this context. "Everything we Estonians do will advance our cause, provided it is done in harmony. A clear line should also be drawn between different forms of effort, separating that which is assigned to the Foreign Ministry, as the entity representing the state, from the role of social organizations, whose plans and prospects are altogether different," the foreign minister added.

Many passions have flared up over the foreign policy of Estonia lately. According to the foreign minister, foreign policy has become the tool for achieving domestic objectives. "I have not deemed it necessary, nor do I deem it possible to get involved with it. Involvement, in whatever form, would mean sacrificing the unity of foreign policy to domestic interests," Lennart Meri emphasized. To the question about Endel Lippmaa's West-bound activity the minister replied: "Endel Lippmaa has been a good friend of mine for 50 years. The only thing I need to say in this context is that someone should give him a compass pointing

precisely due north, so that East and West could also be determined with the same degree of precision.

### **Lithuania's Nationalist Union Chairman Interviewed**

91UN0823A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian  
6 Dec 90 p 3

[Interview with Rimaitis Smetona, chairman of the Lithuanian National Union, by R. Osherov, EKHO LITVY correspondent; date not given: "The State is the Home of the People: A Multi-party System as a Reality"]

[Text] [Correspondent] The party that you head is one of the best known by comparison with other ones that existed in pre-war Lithuania...

[Smetona] Yes, in fact, as compared to the other parties of independent Lithuania, the greatest attention has been paid to ours in the course of Lithuania's history, but coverage of our activities has been too one-sided. The Union of Lithuanian Nationalists [Soyuz litovskikh tautininkov] originated in 1924 from the reorganized National Progress Party, which had existed from 1916 to 1924. Like all other parties in our country, the union existed until June 1940. In 1989 we renewed our activity; we were registered in the Council of Ministers on 23 February 1990 and in September we held a conference, with the rights of a congress, where a program and leading organs were approved. True, there are still few of us—about 500 persons—and we do not have our own press or quarters. Possibly, our somewhat weak popularity so far is a consequence of a tendentious presentation of historical events.

[Correspondent] In the communique from this September conference it was stated that the resurrected organization would continue the "progressive traditions of the party that functioned within Lithuania during 1924-1940." However, there was a revolution, as well as firing-squad executions of Communists, a prohibition of activities by parties, and an authoritarian regime...

[Smetona] Facts, of course, remain facts. But, nevertheless, one should not look upon this only from the positions of the text books we have been reading for 50 years. All the very worst has already been said. Now is the turn for scientific and historically based evaluations of this period. If we recall the Europe of those years, then we will see that a tendency toward authoritarianism is observed in many countries—why, then, accuse only the Baltic republics? The revolution itself was a bloodless one, and its organizers were military. They also chose the president. Had they then chosen somebody from the Christian Democrats—all sins would now be ascribed to them. And in general, is it worthwhile laying blame for the past on today's members of our union? Indeed, they do not blame the Communists for 1937?

What has been said, of course, does not mean that we approve everything that took place then and, before

calling us fascists or rabid nationalists, it is necessary at least to familiarize oneself with our program.

[Correspondent] In my opinion, only one point in it is known to a majority of our readers: about the fact that only Lithuanians may be members of the union...

[Smetona] That same ill-fated fourth point... Only not of the program, but of the rules. Right you are, it has caused many arguments, at the conference as well, but, proceeding from tradition, it was decided to retain it. However, it is necessary to note that, when accepting people into the party, we do not check passports—indeed, there are, for example, mixed families and the important thing is that a person consider himself a Lithuanian. They reproach us with national exclusiveness, but I do not think that this infringes rights and belittles other peoples. While freedom and the prosperity of the Lithuanian people within a democratic state is proclaimed as our main goal, we still understand that peoples of various nationalities reside within Lithuania and the country can be called democratic only when all its citizens are happy. Thus, while wishing the well-being of our own people and striving for a free and rich Lithuania, we automatically presume the freedom and well-being of all its citizens, irrespective of nationality of religious belief. All these principles are reflected in the program of the Union of Lithuanian Nationalists.

[Correspondent] I would like to know about what you see as the most immediate tasks of the union, its participation in the political life of the republic under conditions of a multi-party system?

[Smetona] Despite the fact that there are now many parties, the main goal of all of them is the same—achievement of real independence for Lithuania, a restoration of statehood. "The state is the home of the people"—thus it is stated in our program. We all want our homeland to be a free, flourishing, democratic state. We see the way to achieving prosperity in economic reform, in a transition to a market economy. Private property is a natural and inalienable right of man, and his own piece of land is not only property and a source of means for existence, but also a spiritual support, a guarantee of permanency, a bridge connecting the citizen and the state. Therefore, we are for a return of property. We also believe that social justice must be guaranteed by law and be the fundamental criterion of state power. I must say that a free market does not mean economic anarchy. We believe that the economy should be managed, more precisely, corrected. I certainly am not calling for a command-administrative system, but the experience of Germany or England must be taken into consideration. "Neo-conservatism"—this is the policy we want to adhere to. Together with the Independence Union, the Democrats Party, and the Christian Democrats, we form the radical wing in parliament.

[Correspondent] What is your attitude toward the activities of the parties of the left?



[Smetona] I have already said that our goals, in principle, are common ones. In the program, we accent our striving for a multi-party system, for democracy. There should be both a left wing, and a right one. Whoever's path to building a prosperous state turns out to be the shortest one—everyone will be the winner. The English variant or the Swedish—I think that this is not the main thing, so long as it is to the benefit of Lithuania and her people.

[Correspondent] So far, you have not said anything about the specifics of the Union of Nationalists as a national party...

[Smetona] Yes, unconditionally, along with political activity, our task is to continue and develop the cultural traditions of the Lithuanian people, to preserve national originality, national spirit. Concern about popular culture, the language, customs, the restoration and preservation of cultural and historical monuments is at the center of our attention. The establishment of a national school is one of our first-priority tasks.

Incidentally, I will respond once more to those who rebuke us for national exclusiveness. Europe, while moving toward ever closer economic integration, and especially the peoples with small populations, has already felt a need for preservation of national originality (even such countries as France and Germany are talking about the threat of Americanization). Indeed, every nation is unique and to lose even one of them would be an irreplaceable loss for all of mankind. The preservation of national originality is a noble goal, and to degrade it is unjust and dishonest.

In the program of the Union of Lithuanian Nationalists (it would be better to call it in Russian the "Litovskiy narodniy soyuz" [Lithuanian National Union]), it is written: "Our people, like any other, is the only one in the world."

[Correspondent] Thank you.

#### **Timetable for Implementation of Lithuania's State Language**

91UN0828A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian  
6 Dec 90 p 7

[“Resolution of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic on the Time Frame for Implementing the Status of the State Language”]

[Text] Taking into account objective problems which exist related to realization of the status of the state language in Lithuania, the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic resolves:

1. In cities, villages, and apylinkes [districts] of Lithuania the majority of whose residents are comprised of people who speak another language, to apply minimal requirements respecting knowledge of the state language prior to 1 January 1995 for executive personnel of state

enterprises, institutions, and organizations, as well as for personnel providing services to the population.

2. Not to apply requirements regarding knowledge of the state language to employees whose work or job positions do not demand their constant contact with the population or the conduct of office or clerical work.

3. To extend to 1 January 1995 the period for transition to the conduct of office and clerical work in the state language for enterprises, institutions, and organizations of cities, villages, and apylinkes of Lithuania in which people speaking another language comprise the majority, according to their desires and upon obtaining the consent of the State Language Inspectorate. Responsibility for providing city, village, and apylinkes local self-governments with resources (forms, typewriters, etc.) for office and clerical work in the state language prior to 1 January 1992, from funds allocated to these needs by the Lithuanian Republic government, is entrusted to the rayon soviets.

4. To direct the government of the Lithuanian Republic to establish prior to 1 January 1991 differentiated norms regarding dexterity in use of the state language for executive personnel and people employed in the sphere of providing services to the population, as well as a program of specific measures designed to create conditions for mastering the Lithuanian language and its usage (organization of Lithuanian language courses—free of charge, and also on an elective basis; reorganization of the Lithuanian Language Instruction Center; preparation and publication of textbooks and other teaching aids; improvement of Lithuanian language instruction in schools operating in another language; expansion of the network of cultural and educational institutions, consolidation of their material base, etc.). To envisage means and sources of financing this program with the aim of effecting its implementation.

V. Landsbergis, chairman,  
Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council,  
Vilnius, 29 November 1990

#### **Lithuania's Social Democratic Party Chairman Interviewed**

91UN0828B Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian  
28 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with Professor Kazimieras Antanavicius, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Lithuania, by EKHO LITVY correspondent L. Filipavichene; place and date not given: "Democracy Through Personal Freedoms—Multiparty System As a Reality"]

[Text] It is a long time now since the concept of multi-party system was just a slogan. Today in Lithuania there are eight parties, 14 youth movements, and over 100 other sociopolitical movements. We see an explosion of politicization, and the spectrum of views in society is quite broad—from extreme right to extreme left. The first party—these were Democrats—was registered in December 1989. And it is gradually becoming clear that

a normal political system is being formed in Lithuania, that the multiparty concept will not turn into the same comedy we saw "elections" or "power of the soviets" turn into over decades.

But how does one investigate the "hubbub" of parties? Investigate in order to select one's course—this is the topic of interest, judging from the letters we have received, of many of our readers. Today we begin publication of materials describing existing and newly established parties in the republic, their program principles, aims and methods of activity, organizational structures, and influence in society. And so, we delve into the multiparty system as a reality.

[Correspondent] How do you relate to the multiparty system, esteemed Professor?

[Antanavicius] A great deal of time need not be spent on proving the progressive nature of this phenomenon. Especially since this has been well proven by the autocratic history of the CPSU (not from the textbooks, of course, but the life of the party itself) and the history of multiparty activity in the Western countries, which spans hundreds of years. From the objective logic of life in the struggle of opposing views—the truth emerges. Parties exist also to expound people's opinions in organized fashion, the opinions of like-minded people as we say, to stand up for their political and social interests. The palette of political currents which has so broadly taken shape today is far from our misfortune (whatever the conservatives might say)—it is a way for us to escape the impasse into which the single-party system has led society.

[Correspondent] Today, during the period of formation of new parties—primarily those such as the Social Democrats, Democrats, and Christian Democrats, one senses a great deal in common among them externally. Their declarations coincide to a great degree. For instance they all advocate a democratic state, personal freedoms and, ultimately, the independence of Lithuania.

[Antanavicius] At the beginning this is entirely natural. Having obtained the opportunity to speak freely, a great deal of what they say coincides. But this period is passing. Now each party is getting down to practical policy. Our party is engaged in this as well. We are drawing up a strategy and tactics for our specific activity.

[Correspondent] And what does this consist of?

[Antanavicius] You can see it in the program of the Social Democratic Party—there is nothing more beautiful than the concepts it is propagating. It is not for nothing that social democratic parties are so strong throughout the world. Their chief aspiration is the creation of democracy through personal freedoms. The human individual—educated, free through a lack of constraints in his activity—this is the hero of the Social Democrats.

[Correspondent] And what are the methods which guide the party in attaining personal freedoms and, through this, freedom of the state?

[Antanavicius] We abhor violence of any kind. We do not acknowledge revolutionary methods. Only through conviction, elucidation, and reforms will the ideal of personal freedoms—and the social democratic ideal itself—be preserved. After all, another path—the revolutionary path, let us say—leads to nothing short of dictatorship. This has been the assertion of N. Berdyayev, and we agree with him entirely.

[Correspondent] All this sounds good, and even very attractive, against the background of our harsh actuality. But how do your aspirations look in practice with respect to their various spheres of application? In the socioeconomic sphere, for example...

[Antanavicius] Probably every inhabitant of Lithuania already knows about the steps which have been taken by Social Democrats in reforming the economy. Our position is that economic reform must be initiated immediately. The stability of political life today depends directly upon stability of the economy. But clearly we have a long way to go before reaching stabilization. As you know, economic reform is building a road for itself through heated debate in the parliament sometimes unjustified by the situation. There is divergence of opinion on the most important questions. In its draft economic reform package, the Social Democratic Party has strived to proceed from humane, personal criteria and from the actual state of affairs. Our proposals to distribute a portion of the people's general assets according to citizens' length of employment in the form of investment vouchers have already been adopted by the Supreme Soviet. On the other hand, our party's proposals in the matter of returning tangible assets to former owners has not found support among the deputies. This is hardly a far-sighted approach. In economics you have to proceed from what conditions are—not from what they should be. Here we see not ideas being implemented, but entirely material things. And these—money in the treasury, in particular—can exist or not exist. In our present stage, to assert the former would be superficial at the least.

But this is a drawn-out, painful subject. Let us switch, if you do not object, to dealing directly with problems of the party.

[Correspondent] But economic reform is today one of the major orientations of its functioning. Does the Lithuanian government support your proposals? How would you characterize your relations with it? And how did you receive the proposal of Prime Minister K. Prunskiene to become her third deputy?

[Antanavicius] The economic programs of the government and of Social Democrats today coincide with respect to questions of privatization, return of the property of former owners, and strategy for economic reform.

The matter regarding the position of deputy prime minister is a complicated one and depends on a great deal. This person must be not just a deputy, but chairman of the national privatization council as well. Questions of economic reform in general must come to him. It is evident that neither privatization nor economic reform can be accomplished without special empowerment. This council should have the right to independently decide a great many questions—to whom investment vouchers are distributed, according to what criteria, and in what form (for example, taking or not taking into account tenure, salary, occupation). There will be at least a thousand such questions. If we begin discussing them in the Supreme Council or in the government, forward progress will be infinitely slow, and it would be better in such event not to begin reform. What course I pursue will be determined depending on special empowerment—without this I see no sense in working as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

[Correspondent] Proceeding from our topic of conversation, I should ask you—does your chairmanship of the party not interfere with your parliamentary work and your activity as a scholar? Or let me phrase this another way—since clearly the parliament takes up almost all of your time, is it possible for you to be the full-fledged leader of a party while having such weighty and diverse obligations?

[Antanavicius] Yes, the time has passed when the leader of a party was purely an apparatus employee. Today such a luxury is impermissible. The organizational structure of the party and its methods of activity are entirely different—its apparatus is small in number and entirely subordinated to serving the cause, not to concerns regarding its better existence. The important thing is not getting large numbers in party ranks, but accomplishing those specific things through which the party contributes its share towards the improvement of social development. Efforts accomplished in the parliament and in the party council harmoniously supplement each another, like the brain, heart, and hands of the human organism. It is just too bad that I have had to leave my work with students aside.

[Correspondent] As we know, the problem of ethnic relations today is especially acute. Our readers would be interested in knowing how the Social Democrats relate to this issue. What is their view as to the reasons which underlie interethnic problems, and what possibilities are there for resolution?

[Antanavicius] It is difficult to live without accord. In our view, we must have accord among peoples of various nationalities. Interethnic problems arise under conditions of economic instability and political uncertainty. It is the lack of proper everyday living arrangements and shortage of goods and housing that rouse discontent between people and cause conflicts. Observance of all the rights of a democratic society will allow us to emerge from this crisis. People must understand this and refrain from looking around for enemies. It is important that we

live in friendship and mutual understanding, respect the rights of all nationalities living in the same territory.

[Correspondent] The history of the Social Democratic Party in Lithuania is many decades old. It was established, as far as we know, in 1896 and resurrected in 1989...

[Antanavicius] Yes, our party is one of the oldest in Lithuania. One might say we are approaching our 100th anniversary. Over this period we have seen everything—successes in legal social activity as well as underground work. It is the Social Democrats who actively drew up and participated in adopting the Act of Independence of Lithuania of 16 February 1918, and who came out against confederation both with Germany and with Russia. After the Smetona coup, the Social Democratic Party of Lithuania was banned and switched to engaging in illegal activity. But in this new mode too it preserved its ideals—freedom of the nation and personal freedom, democracy, social justice, standing up in defense of human rights and national independence. It carried these ideals through the years of oblivion to our present day, when it has officially reemerged and now strives to implement them in actuality.

[Correspondent] How will participation in the Socialist International—membership in which was resumed 9 October of this year—help you here?

[Antanavicius] Being a part of the Socialist International, which unites 63 parties, will not only help us implement our measures in practical terms—it will also be the culture medium for development of the ideas of social democracy in Lithuania. Contact with other states will give us the opportunity to evaluate the achievements of social democracy on questions of peaceful coexistence, human rights, etc., and will make social democratic ideas more popular still. Emergence into the world community will enable us to announce Lithuania as an independent state and exert a definite influence on the parliaments and parties of other countries.

[Correspondent] In your opinion, what is the influence of the party within the republic?

[Antanavicius] We would like to see a greater understanding, a greater sharing of our interests and principles on the part of the inhabitants of Latvia. The 3,000-strong membership our party comprises today is inexcusably small for propagating its progressive ideas. There is a Russian group in the party, many of whose members are in Vilnius and Snehkus. Without a doubt, the future is ours.

[Correspondent] And how do you relate to other parties functioning in Lithuania? Who do you side with and who have you left on the other side of the barricades?

[Antanavicius] We are essentially with everyone of a democratic orientation, everyone loyal to the cause of

independence of the Lithuanian state. The Social Democratic Party of Lithuania has been a consistent supporter of political pluralism and adheres to the view that democracy is impossible without a multiparty system. But a true multiparty system assumes a high level of political culture, and the main indication of a democratic, multiparty system is the combined constructive effort of various forces. New parties and the measures they take will determine the destiny of our independent state and the destiny of each of us for decades to come.

### Caucasus

#### New Armenian Communist Party Charter Approved

91US0270A Yerevan GOLOS ARMENII in Russian  
16 Dec 90 pp 1-2

["Charter of the Armenian Communist Party: As Approved by the 29th Armenian Communist Party Congress"]

[Text] The Armenian Communist Party shall be an independent political organization, uniting on voluntary principles citizens of the Republic of Armenia in the interests of carrying out the program goals stemming from the Armenian people's ideals with regard to strengthening our sovereign, democratic republic, as well as its political, spiritual, and economic progress.

The Armenian Communist Party shall construct its work on the basis of its own program and charter; it shall be guided by its own decisions.

The Armenian Communist Party and all its organizations shall operate within the framework of the constitution and laws of the Republic of Armenia.

The Armenian Communist Party shall construct reciprocal relations with the CPSU, as well as with other parties, movements, and organizations of Armenia and the Union republics, based on the principles of independence, equality, and mutual consent. The Armenian Communist Party shall cooperate with this republic's other parties, organizations, and movements in order to coordinate actions aimed at the people's well-being. The Armenian Communist Party shall likewise establish cooperative relations with progressive foreign parties and movements.

The Charter of the Armenian Communist Party shall be adopted by a Congress of the Armenian Communist Party after a general, party-wide discussion.

#### Party Members, Their Rights and Obligations

1. Membership in the Armenian Communist Party may be open to a citizen of the Republic of Armenia who has reached the age of 18, who acknowledges the Program and Charter of the Armenian Communist Party, takes part in the activity of one of the primary party organizations, and supports the party by material, i.e., financial, means.

2. All members of the Armenian Communist Party shall have equal rights. A member of the Armenian Communist Party shall have the following rights: to bring up and freely discuss matters of the party's domestic and foreign policy, as well as intraparty life, to participate in working out decisions, to enjoy the political support and protection of the party organization in his public activity, to elect and be elected to party organs, to obtain information about their work, to give an evaluation, to criticize any party organ and any communist, to direct statements and proposals or suggestions to any party organ and to obtain a reply from it, to participate in the work of a party organ when it is discussing his proposal or a matter involving his own activity or conduct.

A member of the Armenian Communist Party cannot simultaneously be a member of another party. A communist shall have the right to participate in the work of public organizations and movements whose activities do not contradict the program and charter of the Armenian Communist Party.

3. A member of the Armenian Communist Party shall be obligated to consistently carry out the political line of the Armenian Communist Party in labor collectives and among the population, to propagandize the party's ideas, to struggle to achieve its program goals, to support its vanguard positions in the society, to carry out party decisions, and to pay party membership dues on a regular basis.

A member of the Armenian Communist Party shall be obligated to observe the norms of public morality, to maintain his own high political and cultural standards, and to be an example in his work and everyday life.

4. Acceptance as a member of the Armenian Communist Party shall be conducted in accordance with an individual procedure, upon the application of the person desiring to join the party. This procedure shall be conducted at a meeting of the primary party organization concerned, and the latter's decision shall be deemed final. The Armenian Communist Party shall furnish members with a party card of the Armenian Communist Party. The procedure for registering party members shall be established by the Armenian CP Central Committee.

A member of the Armenian Communist Party who has actively worked in the party for at least 30 years shall be awarded the honorary title of: "Armenian Communist Party Veteran."

A communist shall be listed on the rolls of the party registry in the primary organization (at his place of residence or employment) in accordance with the appropriate instruction from the Central Committee.

If a party member, for reasons of health or age, cannot fully participate in party life, then, based upon an



application and statement, the primary party organization shall have the right to relieve him of permanent public work and the payment of his membership dues.

5. If the activity and conduct of a party member are incommensurate with the requirements of the Armenian CP Charter, the primary party organization concerned—either upon its own initiative or upon the proposal of a higher-ranking party organ—shall expel him from the ranks of the Armenian Communist Party.

Party member may also be terminated upon the application of a party member to voluntarily quit the Armenian Communist Party. Such an application shall be sent to the primary party organization involved or, if necessary, to a higher-ranking organ.

In matters relating to acceptance as a member of the Armenian Communist Party and expulsion from the party the decision of the primary party organization concerned shall be deemed operative or valid if it has been voted for by more than half of the communists listed on the rolls of its registry.

For violating party discipline or the norms of public morality, other measures of party influence, in the form of notes, comments, or a reprimand, may be applied to a party member.

A person who has been expelled from the party or who has been fined shall have the right to appeal to the party's higher-ranking and monitoring organs. His statement of appeal shall be examined within a period not to exceed two months from the day on which his appeal was submitted.

6. Persons who sympathize with the party's aims and who approve of the Armenian CP Program and Charter shall, by a decision of a primary party organization, be permitted to take part in its activity with the right of a consultative voice.

#### **Intraparty Democracy**

7. The Armenian Communist Party shall operate on the basis of merging the ideals of common sharing and those of party discipline.

In all fundamental matters affecting party life the deciding voice shall be that of the party masses. The party shall ensure freedom in expressing opinions and views, the existence of various different platforms, and wide opportunities for criticism. The Armenian Communist Party and its individual organizations may conduct discussions and referenda on urgent matters of public and party life. These shall be conducted upon the initiative of the leadership organs or upon a proposal from party organizations which encompass at least one-third of the members of the organization concerned.

8. The party's leadership organs shall consist of its general meeting, conference, and congress. They shall be legally empowered if they are attended by more than half of the members of the party organization involved or the elected delegates, and—during the accounts and elections period—

by at least two-thirds of the members of the party organization involved or the elected delegates. The party's leadership organs shall elect executive organs (bureaus and committees) and monitoring organs (monitoring commissions).

The party's leadership organs may form permanent, i.e., standing, or temporary commissions and working groups for the basic directions or lines of their work. They may also utilize other forms of involving communists and other citizens in their activities.

9. The leadership executive and monitoring organs in the party shall be elective. They shall be elected by secret ballot with a preliminary, broad-based discussion of the candidates. During elections party members shall have the right to nominate candidates without restrictions, including themselves, thereby ensuring that the election is conducted on an alternative basis. Those candidates shall be deemed elected who have garnered more than half of the votes from party members participating in the voting at a meeting, conference, congress, party committee plenum, or monitoring commission.

Preliminary party organizations shall have the right to introduce proposals regarding candidates for membership in higher-ranking party organs.

10. Members of elective organs in the party at the raykom level and higher shall be elected to the same post for not more than two consecutive terms. Secretaries of party committees at all levels and chairmen of monitoring commissions shall be elected along with their simultaneous election as members of these organs at the appropriate meetings, conferences, congress, or upon being examined by delegates at the plenums of party and monitoring commissions by secret ballot. They shall be accountable to the appropriate party committee or monitoring commission; and they shall be listed on the rolls of any party organization.

11. Party committees and monitoring commissions shall be accountable to those party organizations which have formed them. An elective organ shall be accountable in its work to the voters who elected it or to the party organization which recommended it.

12. When working out decisions, party organizations and their organs shall be obligated to examine all points of view. The decision adopted by the majority shall be put into effect. The minority shall have the right to defend its own point of view at party meetings, conferences, congresses, and at sessions of the executive and monitoring organs. It shall also have the right to mass media for this purpose, to issue joint reports, to affix a special or separate opinion and point of view in the minutes, to demand a repeat examination or consideration of disputed matters in their own organization or in higher-ranking organs.

In case divergent opinions arise in party committees and monitoring commissions, as well as in their bureaus and



presidium, the draft decision shall be put up for a repeat discussion and shall be adopted by a majority vote.

The decisions of congresses, conferences, and meetings shall be binding for party organizations. The decisions of committees and bureaus at the preparatory stage shall be discussed in the party organizations to which they pertain. And, after adoption, they shall be binding and mandatory for execution. If a decision is unacceptable to a party member even after it has been adopted by following the established procedure, he can refuse to carry it out. But he shall be obligated to issue a statement on this matter—a statement which sets forth and defends his own point of view. He must not, however, prevent or hinder other persons from carrying out this decision.

13. The party's elected organs shall establish, for the time period when they are in office, a working apparatus which shall be subordinate to them. The party apparatus shall recruit its staff based on the recommendations of the primary party organizations. Labor legislation shall be extended to the staff members of a party apparatus.

14. Party organs and committees may publish and disseminate—using their own funds or jointly with other organizations—books, newspapers and journals, bulletins, propaganda reference-information, and other materials. They may form appropriate editorial offices, have their own printing centers, or organize radio and television broadcasts. The party mass media shall be organs of party organs and committees. Their leading officials shall be elected at the appropriate party meeting, conference, congress, or party committee plenum.

#### Party Organizational Structure

15. The Armenian Communist Party shall be constructed in accordance with a territorial or production-type criterion. The party structure shall include primary, rayon, city, and party organizations.

Upon the initiative of party members, the following groups may be founded: councils of party organization secretaries, party clubs, seminars on theory, discussion centers, councils of party veterans, and other forms by means of which party members may get together in line with their interests and problems. While they lack the rights of primary party organizations, these associations, basing their efforts on the Armenian CP Program, shall discuss various matters and work out their own points of view. They shall introduce proposals and drafts for examination and consideration by party committees at any level.

#### Primary Party Organizations

16. The party's foundation shall consist of the primary party organizations. These shall be established when there are at least five members of the Armenian Communist Party present. It shall be done by a decision of their meeting, and such organizations shall be registered by the appropriate party raykoms or gorkoms.

A primary party organization may create party groups and shop organizations within its own membership. Upon its recommendation, these latter may be granted the rights of primary party organizations.

Primary party organizations shall independently resolve matters relating to the acceptance of members into the party or terminating membership in the Armenian Communist Party. They shall determine their own structure, operational trends and methods, the periodicity and procedures for holding meetings, as well as problems of political actions, and financial-economic activities. They shall also establish mutual relations with state and public organizations.

Primary party organizations shall propagandize and implement party decisions, perform the party's ideological, political, and organizational functions in labor collectives and on the territory involved. They shall exert an influence on solving economic and social problems, and they shall defend social justice.

17. In order to conduct current work, a meeting (or conference) of a primary party organization shall elect for a term of two or three years a bureau (or committee) and its secretary. Matters of staffing, the wages of the secretary and other employees, as well as other forms of material incentive, shall be determined by a meeting (or conference). Party organizations numbering less than 15 communists in their membership shall elect a secretary for the party organization and his deputy for a term and in a procedure which shall be determined by the meeting. In party groups a party organizer shall be elected.

#### Rayon and City Party Organizations

18. Rayon and city party organizations shall constitute the party's supporting structural link.

The rayon or city party conference shall elect a rayon or city party committee, as well as a monitoring commission for a term of three years.

Taking the opinions of the primary organizations into account, the rayon or city party committee at its plenum shall elect a raykom or gorkom bureau.

The first secretaries of the city or rayon party committees shall be elected at city or rayon conferences by closed (i.e., secret) ballot, and during the period between conferences this shall be done in the plenums.

The party raykoms and gorkoms shall conduct the registration of the communists, coordinate the activities of the primary party organizations, together with them, organize the work of implementing the party's policy and decisions in the labor collectives and at citizens' places of residence, bring up proposals for solving specific socio-economic, cultural, and other problems for examination and consideration by the public and by the organs of authority; they shall also facilitate the implementation of such proposals and solutions.

19. The monitoring commission of a rayon or city party organization shall elect its own presidium. Monitoring commissions shall keep track of the execution of decisions made by the party leadership organs, solve problems connected with the observance by the communists of party discipline and the norms of public morality, defend and protect the honor and dignity of party members, examine and consider their appeals. They shall also hold liable those who are guilty of pressuring persons who criticize them and those who are guilty of malfeasance, audit the performance of the party budget and the economic activity of party institutions. A monitoring commission shall be accountable to the organ which elected it; it shall operate independently and in accordance with the statute approved by the rayon or city party conference.

#### Higher and Central Organs of the Armenian Communist Party

20. The highest organ of the Armenian Communist Party shall be its congress. Regular congresses shall be convoked by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee at least once every three years. Between such regular congresses a conference or an extraordinary congress may be convoked. A decision by the Central Committee regarding the convocation of an extraordinary congress or conference, the agenda, and the norm of representation shall be announced no later than three months prior to their convocation. The Central Committee shall publish draft documents concerning the principal issues which are to be brought up at the congress or conference.

An extraordinary congress or a conference shall be convoked upon a proposal by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Monitoring Commission of the Armenian Communist Party, or when demanded by party organizations encompassing at least one-third of the total number number of communists within a two-month time period.

In case the Central Committee does not convoke such an extraordinary (irregular) congress or conference, the organizations which had demanded that it be held can form an organizing committee, which shall enjoy the rights of the party Central Committee with regard to convoking an extraordinary (irregular) congress or conference.

21. An Armenian Communist Party Congress shall perform the following tasks:

- hear accounts and reports from the Central Committee and the Monitoring Commission, as well as from other organs and persons elected by the congress; it shall also adopt decrees and provide an evaluation of their work;
- work out and specify the party line in the area of building up the party, ideological activity, as well as the domestic and foreign policy of the Armenian Communist Party;
- adopt a program and a charter, revise and amend them;

- elect a Central Committee for the Armenian Communist Party, as well as its Monitoring Commission;
- elect a first secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, while, at the same time, electing him a member of the Armenian CP Central Committee and a member of the Armenian CP Central Committee Bureau;
- elect a chairman of the Armenian CP Monitoring Commission, while, at the same time, including him as a member of the Armenian CP Central Committee and the Presidium of the Armenian CP Central Committee.

22. An Armenian CP Republic-Level Conference shall be convoked in order to examine urgent and pressing problems of party policy and practical activity.

Such a conference shall be legally empowered to hear accounts and reports from the Armenian CP Central Committee and Monitoring Commission about their work, to partially re-elect their membership composition (as much as one-third during the period between congresses), adopt other decisions—obligatory for the party—within the framework of the Armenian Communist Party program documents.

A conference shall be legally empowered to take a decision on convoking an extraordinary congress.

23. During the periods between congresses and conferences the Armenian Communist Party shall perform the following tasks:

- work out and introduce proposals regarding domestic and foreign policy for examination and consideration by the Republic of Armenia's Supreme Soviet or its presidium;
- direct, guide, and channel the activities of party groups (factions) in the republic-level representative organs;
- work out and implement the personnel policy of the Armenian Communist Party;
- create party institutions and enterprises, as well as monitoring their activities;
- interact and cooperate with the sociopolitical organizations in the entire country and in our republic; represent the Armenian Communist Party in contacts with foreign parties.

24. The Central Committee shall elect a bureau and secretaries for the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and shall determine or specify their numerical composition.

The work of the Central Committee Bureau shall be guided by the first secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee.

The Central Committee Bureau shall make an annual report on its activity at a Plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee.

25. The Armenian CP Central Committee shall create permanent, i.e., standing, commissions to deal with the basic directions or trends of its activity. These commissions shall be formed at a Plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee from among Central Committee members as well as other communists.

26. In its activity, the Armenian CP Monitoring Commission shall be guided by the Armenian CP Charter and by the statute on the Armenian CP Monitoring Commission. It shall elect a presidium at its own plenum.

27. The Armenian CP Central Committee and the Armenian CP Monitoring Commission shall hold at least two plenary sessions annually and—if necessary—joint sessions as well.

Members of the Armenian CP Central Committee may take part in the work done by the plenums of the Armenian CP Monitoring Commission, and members of the Armenian CP Monitoring Commission may take part in the work done by the plenums of the Armenian CP Central Committee with the right of a consultative voice.

A party member cannot be simultaneously included in the Armenian CP Central Committee and in the Armenian CP Monitoring Commission.

#### Party Members in Councils of State Organs and Public Associations

28. The Armenian Communist Party shall struggle for political leadership in the society in free elections in the Soviets of People's Deputies and through other forms whereby citizens may make their will manifest. Party organizations shall work out and publish their own election platforms, recommend communists and non-party-members, with their consent, for nomination as candidates to the office of people's deputy, and they shall help them in organizing their election campaigns.

Party organizations may enter into pre-election agreements with other sociopolitical organizations operating on the basis of the Constitution; they may support candidates nominated by them to run for the office of deputy, though they are not members of the Armenian Communist Party.

29. Within the Soviets of People's Deputies communists and their like-minded associates may band together for the period when the Soviets are in session, into party groups (factions) for the purpose of coordinating their activity in order to implement the will, desires, and mandates of the people who voted for them.

What shall not be permitted is the creation by communists within the Soviets of groups or factions independent of the party leadership organs but speaking in the name of the Armenian Communist Party.

Party groups (factions of communists) shall cooperate with appropriate party committees, receive aid and support from them, and take their decisions and recommendations into account.

For current work, party groups (factions) can elect a bureau or a chairman.

30. The party shall cooperate with those groups which take a stance for democracy and social justice. It shall build its own relations with the trade unions, other public organizations and movements, based on political interaction and cooperation, as well as respect for another point of view.

Party groups (factions) may be created at congresses and conferences convoked by public organizations.

31. Party organs and primary party organizations shall cooperate with the Armenian Youth Union and other young people's organizations. Mutual relations between the party and youth organizations shall be built upon the principles of political partnership: a communal sharing of ideas, a recognition of their organizational independence, mutual respect, and trust.

32. Primary party organizations and party committees may recommend communists and nonparty-members for specific, state, economic, or public work. Operating by means of political methods, they shall assist in their election or appointment to appropriate positions. They shall render them support and hear the reports of the communists.

#### Monetary Funds and Property of the Armenian Communist Party

33. The activity of the Armenian Communist Party and its organizations shall be provided with financial and material-technical resources by means of the party's income and revenues.

The monetary funds of the Armenian Communist Party shall be formed from: party membership dues, income from publishing, production, and economic activities, as well as voluntary contributions by communists, individual citizens, and other revenues which are not in conflict with the existing legislation.

The monthly membership dues shall be set in accordance with the basic wages and shall be in the following amounts:

Monthly wages	Monthly dues
Below 100 rubles	20 kopecks
101-150 rubles	30 kopecks
151-200 rubles	45 kopecks
201-250 rubles	1 rouble
Above 250 rubles	2 roubles

Working communists who are also receiving a pension shall pay party membership dues solely from their wages.

Upon joining the party, a person shall be charged an initiation fee amounting to two percent of his basic monthly wage.

34. The budget of the Armenian Communist Party, its structure, the amounts of the contributions made to it from the revenues of the local party organizations, and the subsidies to them, as well as the account of the performance of the party budget, shall be approved by the plenum of the party Central Committee and shall be made available to the communists.

The financial assets for maintaining the Armenian CP Monitoring Commission shall be determined at a joint plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee and the Monitoring Commission.

All party organizations shall be independent in the disposition of their own budgets, in deciding structural, staff, and production-economic matters, as well as in creating, reorganizing, and eliminating periodical publications. Budgets and the accounts of their performance shall be approved at the plenums of party committees.

35. The property of the Armenian Communist Party shall be the common property of the entire party. The following are legal objects of property ownership by the Armenian Communist Party: buildings, structures, equipment, inventory stocks, property of a cultural-educational or health-care nature, monetary assets, enterprises, party publishing houses along with the periodical publications and printing presses, as well as other property necessary for the party's activity.

The party committees shall exercise operational administration (possession, use, disposition) of the property belonging to party organizations. The Armenian CP Central Committee, the local party organizations, as well as the Armenian Communist Party's enterprises, institutions, and organizations, shall enjoy the rights of a person in the eyes of the law, and they may delegate these rights to their structural subdivisions. Primary party organizations may enjoy these rights of a "juridical person" in accordance with the existing legislation.

Some 40 percent of the funds from the total amount received from membership dues shall be earmarked for financing the activity of the primary party organizations.

In order to solve the problems of financing the activity of party organizations, to distribute and redistribute monetary funds among the raykoms, gorkoms, and gorkoms, as well as partkoms with the rights of raykoms, finance commissions shall be created with the participation of the secretaries of primary party organizations.

Local party committees and monitoring commissions shall annually inform the communists about the status of the party budget and the expenditure of funds.

#### Appendix

Based on the Armenian CP Charter, the following normative-methodological documents shall be worked out and

approved at a combined, joint plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee and Monitoring Commission:

- an instruction on the procedure for elections to the Armenian Communist Party and for recalling a person from membership in the elective organs;
- an instruction on registering members of the Armenian Communist Party and party statistics;
- an instruction on office procedure in party organizations and committees;
- an instruction on accounting of party dues and financial-economic activity in party organizations;
- a statute on the procedure for conducting referenda and discussions within the party.

#### Basic Provisions of Armenian Communist Party Program Approved

CTUS0271A Yerevan GOLOS ARMENII in Russian  
16 Dec 90 pp 1-2

["Basic Provisions of Armenian Communist Party Program: As Approved by the 29th Armenian Communist Party Congress"]

#### [Text] Basic Strategy of the Armenian Communist Party

The Armenian Communist Party has traveled a 70-year path of gains, of achievements and errors. During the years of Soviet power it made a large contribution to implementing historically progressive socioeconomic and cultural changes in Armenia. Our republic became the true homeland of all Armenians and the foundation of Armenian statehood. This cannot be erased from the history of our people and our party.

However, throughout the entire country during the process of transforming our society there occurred a fateful departure from democracy and the people's power; a system of totalitarianism was created; and there was an alienation of the Soviet people from power, politics, and property ownership. The Communist Party underwent tragic deformations. Millions of innocent people were subjected to unjustified repressions. The spirit of democratism and humanism was violently torn out of the society. Human beings came to be regarded not as the highest goal of progress but rather as "screws" in the party-state mechanism, deprived of the possibilities and rights of freedom, self-development, and renewal. Soviet society was gradually drawn into the deep crisis of the entire social system.

In Armenia the social crisis manifested itself with particular sharpness and depth, for there was a maximum exacerbation of the contradictions and conflicts, the unsolved problems in the sphere of national sovereignty, and the reunification with Artsakh (the NKAO) [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast]. By means of the country's entire preceding development the Armenian people were led to the necessity of unleashing a national-liberation movement in the name of its own national rebirth, reunification, and progress.



A heavy and tragic blow to our republic, which was already in a state of crisis, was the earthquake which killed, devastated, and deprived hundreds of thousands of people, destroyed an enormous amount of physical assets, i.e., property, and extremely exacerbated the moral and psychological state of the Armenian people.

Together with this, there was an extreme exacerbation of Armenian-Azerbaijani interethnic and interstate relations, the genocide and deportation of hundreds of thousands of Armenians, as well as the economic and transportation blockade—all organized by Azerbaijan. The economic situation of our republic, gravely serious even without these factors, became even worse, and the people's standard of living declined.

The course aimed at restructuring the CPSU and Soviet society was received with enthusiasm by the Armenian people and the Armenian Communist Party as the sole solution for rescuing the society from its deep crisis.

This perestroika laid the foundation for radically transforming all public structures, destroying totalitarianism, and the process of transferring power from the party to the soviets. It asserted glasnost, economic, political, and ideological pluralism; it opened up the road for the triumph of truth over falsehood; it uncrowned or debunked lies and myths and led to human liberties.

During the process of perestroika informal organizations and political parties were formed in Armenia. In the interests of national self-preservation, armed formations of people's militia [home guards or a volunteer force] came into being, and an independent periodical press made its appearance. Armenian society became politicized on a broad basis: new forms of direct democracy began to powerfully dictate the will of a certain portion of the people to the party-state system of leadership and administration. The strength and authority of the party leadership, as well as that of the party as a whole, sharply declined. Public law and order was violated, and crime increased.

The Armenian Communist Party acknowledges its own responsibility for the situation which evolved, its lag behind the precipitous processes of restructuring civil life, its inability to master the situation, to influence the course of events, to assist in preserving the authority of the party and state organs. The party, with its membership of 200,000 persons, was unable to become a genuinely consolidating force; it could not unite the entire people in the name of progressive perestroika; nor could it solve the extremely complex economic, political, nationality and ethnic problems.

Under the new conditions, the Armenian Communist Party is working out its own strategy for extricating the people from this crisis. Its goal is to unite the entire Armenian nation or ethnos, to create a society with a high level of well-being, prosperity, and social protectionism, an Armenian, sovereign, democratic state.

The activity of the Armenian Communist Party and its strategy stem from the highest achievements of the philosophical, socioeconomic, and political thought of all mankind, as well as from a study of the society's natural development. In realistically evaluating the objective and subjective factors of the present-day period, the Armenian Communist Party accepts the theory of democratic socialism. And it will strive to create a society based upon the principles of political and ideological pluralism, a multistructured economy, and sovereignty of the people.

Our society must attain a high world level of production and satisfaction of the people's material needs; it must ensure its nationality or ethnic interests, guarantee the safety and security of life and property, social protectionism, the right to work, protection of nationality and human rights, freedom of philosophical outlook, convictions, and conscience; it must also create the optimal conditions for the progress of science, education, and culture.

All these radical changes will lead to a national and social rebirth of the Armenian people; they will create the foundations for implementing or embodying the socialist ideal.

Implementing the strategy of the Armenian Communist Party will require complete independence, a radical restructuring, and the Armenian Communist Party's operational methods and forms based on its own program and charter.

The Armenian Communist Party hereby declares that it is turning away from, i.e., rejecting, a political monopoly; it will strive to achieve its own political goals under the conditions of a multiparty system and by functioning within the framework of this republic's Constitution.

The Armenian Communist Party will implement its own nationality program in the interests of consolidating all progressive forces, in the interests of affirming and strengthening the national statehood, economic, and political self-sufficiency of an independent Armenia. The political positions of the Armenian Communist Party are as follows: the achievement of national unity, the reunification of the NKAO with the Motherland [i.e., Armenia] on the basis of self-determination, the high priority of general-national values, the achievement of national, socioeconomic, and cultural progress.

Basing its position on the international declarations regarding the rights of individuals and peoples, the Armenian Communist Party advocates protecting and defending the just demands of the Armenian people. The party will strive to bring about a situation whereby the unjust decisions, agreements, and treaties which were adopted in the past and which flouted and trampled upon the Armenian people's interests are declared invalid and inoperative. The Armenian Communist Party is struggling for international recognition of the genocide which was perpetrated upon Armenians during



the years 1915-1923 in Ottoman Turkey and in Armenia, as well as for the return to our Motherland of those portions which were torn away from it.

As a result of the exacerbated interethnic relations, along with the genocide of Armenians in Sumgait, Baku, Kirovabad, and other regions of Azerbaijan, hundreds of thousands of Armenians have been deported from their historical places of residence.

The Armenian Communist Party considers it an urgent task to solve the labor, housing, social, and everyday problems of these refugees by working in conjunction with state organs and sociopolitical organizations.

The Armenian Communist Party advocates establishing the status of refugees and instituting a republic- and international-level fund for rendering aid to the Armenian refugees.

Having as its strategic goal the implementation of the idea of creating an independent and unified Armenia, the Armenian Communist Party deems it necessary that—at the present-day stage of the Armenian people's history—the Republic of Armenia be included with a Union of sovereign republics.

The Armenian Communist Party is employing all its forces to assist in solving the nationwide problem of eliminating the gravely serious consequences of the destructive earthquake which occurred in December 1988.

The Armenian Communist Party is taking all measures to assist the fully authoritative activity of the soviets as the legitimate organs of power to broaden and expand the people's sovereignty. It will strive by real deeds to win the trust and sympathies of the masses, to achieve civic consent and cooperation in honest, honorable, and principled competition with other parties and movements under the conditions of a multiparty system.

The Armenian Communist Party is decisively rejecting the ossified concepts regarding the historic mission of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the necessity and inevitability of socialist revolutions, and the leading role to be played by the Communist Party. It is also abandoning the ideas of the priority of international interests over national ones and the harmful, antiscientific practice of setting the interests of the working class against the interests of the people as a whole.

Since it was the leading and organizing force in the past, the Armenian Communist Party accepts full responsibility for the negative phenomena (bribery, corruption, protectionism, etc.) which permeated all spheres of our republic's state, party, and public life. These phenomena have evoked dissatisfaction and indignation among the toiling masses. The Armenian Communist Party will wage an uncompromising struggle against these phenomena, which have deformed our society.

The Armenian Communist Party regards the trade unions, the Armenian Youth Union, along with other public organization and newly arisen political parties, as independent social and social forces with which we must cooperate on an equal-rights basis in the name of a national consensus and Armenia's democratic development.

#### **Democratization of Society and People's Sovereignty**

The Armenian Communist Party is unleashing consistent activities with regard to forming an effective system, democratizing public life, guaranteeing civil rights and liberties, affirming a self-governing state based on the rule of law, and a genuine people's sovereignty.

The Armenian Communist Party will assist in fully affirming the principles of universal, secret, direct, and equal suffrage and the alternative principle in electing a President of the Republic of Armenia and in electing leading officials at all levels of the representative, administrative, and judiciary organs of power.

The most important task confronting us here is to gain a broad-based representation of party members in the soviets, to unite them into factions, and, under certain specific conditions, to form an opposition which would actively struggle to carry out a policy to influence the work of the organs of power in the people's interests.

The Communist Party is prepared to cooperate on the basis of equal rights, to coordinate its actions in the soviets at all levels with those of other parties within the framework of the Constitution.

At the same time, the Communist Party is categorically opposed to utilizing the representative organs, especially the legislative ones, as a means for "settling old scores," for destructive actions in narrowly factional interests.

Making democracy and the people's sovereignty deeper and broader is legitimately linked with the maximum raising of the party's responsibility, as well as that of the organs of power, to the society and the people.

The Armenian Communist Party will strive with determination to unite all progressive forces among the people in order to rebuff the criminal actions of those armed groups which threaten the stability of society and its democratization, which infringe upon citizens' life, health, and property, as well as upon publicly owned property, which seriously hinder implementing the tasks and goals of perestroika.

The Communist Party will strive to utilize referenda, nationwide discussions, and the results of public-opinion polls when solving the problems—so fateful for the Armenian people—of the state system, as well as radical structural changes in the society pertaining to the sphere of the socioeconomic and political interests of the entire people.

The Armenian Communist Party favors the division of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, as well as

the precise demarcation of the responsibilities and legal powers possessed by the state organs.

This division of power, these democratic modes of forming the organs of power should create guarantees against the usurpation of power, against abuses of their powers by the authorities. It must establish boundaries among the spheres of competence and responsibility of each of the authorities and create a barrier against violations of legality and law and order.

The Armenian Communist Party considers that this republic ought to carry out radical juridical and legal changes, work out and implement urgent measures to strengthen legality and law and order in the sphere of humanizing legislation, ensuring and providing social justice, the strictest observance of legality, guaranteeing glasnost, a profound and thoroughgoing democratization of the court procedure, affirming equal rights and the fair competition between the opposing parties, i.e., sides to the dispute, introducing the principles of trials by jury, and along other lines.

The Armenian Communist Party considers it urgent to work out and adopt a new Constitution for the Republic of Armenia—one which would create a legal foundation for democracy.

#### Nationality Policy

The fundamental task of the Armenian Communist Party's nationality policy is to protect and defend the national interests of the Armenian people and the working people of this republic.

At the same time, the Armenian Communist Party's nationality policy proceeds from the basic concept that all the national and ethnic groups residing in the Republic of Armenia must be guaranteed equal rights and opportunities to develop freely in all spheres of sociopolitical and economic life.

The Armenian Communist Party considers that the precondition for concluding a new Union treaty must be the recognition of Armenia's sovereignty and complete independence, as proclaimed by the Republic of Armenia's Supreme Soviet, a recognition of its territory, land, underground wealth, air space, water and other natural resources belonging to our people.

The Armenian Communist Party will strive to bring about a situation whereby the Union treaty would reinforce and confirm Armenia's sovereign rights to voluntarily join a Union of sovereign states; it should also contain a guaranteed right to leave such a Union if it so wished. In joining such a Union, the Republic of Armenia should not have to give up any of the privileges of its own sovereignty.

The Armenian Communist Party advocates with determination the requirement that there be a recognition of the right of free self-determination with regard to national formations within the Union of sovereign republics and the creation of an effective mechanism for implementing

it. The Armenian Communist Party considers it a top-priority task to constitutionally affirm the reunification of the Republic of Armenia and the NKAO. Until this issue is finally settled, our party will continue to struggle for the restoration in Artsakh of the party and soviet organs, upgrading the status of the oblast; and it will consistently carry out a policy of a multifaceted expansion of our economic, scientific, technical, and cultural integration with Artsakh.

One of the strategic tasks of the Armenian Communist Party's nationality policy is the struggle to solve the Armenian problem—to work out the tactics, forms, and methods for carrying out this task.

At a certain stage the Communist Party considers it possible to create armed forces and internal-service troops on the territory of this republic.

Our party will take all measures to facilitate the creation of the necessary conditions for the widest possible adoption in all spheres of this republic's life of the Armenian language as the state language of the Republic of Armenia, along with the passage of a law concerning the Armenian language which would ensure the adoption of the legal status of the state language. At the same time, the Communist Party recognizes the right of free development of the native languages of all the national minorities residing in Armenia.

The Armenian Communist Party will continue to assist in strengthening multi-faceted ties with Union republics and autonomous formations, the national rebirth or revival of Armenians residing in them, the founding and strengthening of national, patriotic, countrymen's societies, educational institutions, and press organs, the opening of Armenian schools and art studios in localities densely populated by our fellow-countrymen.

Of great importance in the Armenian Communist Party's nationality policy is strengthening the ties between the Motherland and the diaspora. Armenians living abroad comprise an alienable part of the unified Armenian nation. The existence of an Armenian ethnosp abroad is a determining factor in consolidating and preserving the nation and making it prosper. Armenia should employ all measures to assist in the nationalistic rearing and education of the rising generation in the Armenian diaspora—our fellow-countrymen abroad. We should encourage by all means their aspiration to return to their own national roots. This republic's VUZ [higher educational institution]'s and other educational institutions should become extensively involved in education Armenian youths abroad. The Armenian Communist Party considers it feasible to set up representative Armenian offices [consulates] in the diaspora.

The future of the Armenian nation is tied to its historical Motherland. Therefore, the Communist Party supports the provisions of the Declaration made by the Armenian Parliament regarding the right of Armenians living abroad to citizenship in the Republic of Armenia.

The Armenian Communist Party is prepared to establish constructive cooperation with the Gichak Social Democratic Party, the Dashnaksutyun Armenian Revolutionary Party, the Ramkavar-azatak Party, as well as other political, public, charitable or philanthropic organizations and movements in the name of the common interests of the entire Armenian people.

#### **Socioeconomic Policy**

The principal task of the Armenian Communist Party's socioeconomic policy is to raise the people's standard of living, to satisfy their material and spiritual demands. Under the conditions of the present-day, deep, socioeconomic crisis, the implementation of this goal is possible only on the paths of scientific and technical progress, the radical transformation of the political and economic system, the complete abandonment of the administrative-command system, and a conversion or transition to market-type relations. The tie-rod of the entire structural and investment policy is the social reorientation of the national economy.

The Armenian Communist Party fully supports the radical reform which is being carried out in this country. Its essence lies in the multiple forms of property ownership, the democratization of economic relations, and the transformation of working people into fully entitled masters of production. The Communist Party will assist the Armenian government in implementing the economic reform under the specific conditions of this republic; it will strive to pass laws in the parliament concerning property ownership, land, cooperatives, state enterprises, leasing small- and medium-sized enterprises, etc.

In the immediate future ties with the Union market will remain an important factor in our republic's economic relations. The Armenian Communist Party will employ all measures to assist efforts regarding the involvement of this republic's economy in world-level economic ties, the formation of free-enterprise zones, and the creation of joint enterprises, extensively drawing upon the opportunities of the diaspora.

Solution of the food problem remains a top-priority matter in economic policy.

In agriculture the Armenian Communist Party considers it necessary to create equal farming opportunities for kolkhozes, sovkhozes, shareholding enterprises, societies, cooperatives, and family-owned, peasant-type farmsteads.

In its agrarian policy the Armenian Communist Party accords particular significance to the problems of radically improving the social infrastructure of the village along with the working and everyday-living conditions of the rural laborers. Top-priority attention is being devoted to reviving abandoned villages in the piedmont and mountain zones of our republic, the restoration of production potentials in the agroindustrial complex located

in the zone where the earthquake occurred, and providing for the normal activities of life in the regions which suffered.

The Armenian Communist Party considers that its most important social task is to implement the new urban-construction policy, aimed at the socioeconomic and cultural restructuring of cities, villages, and settlements, as well as providing incentives for cooperative and individual, i.e. private, construction.

The Armenian Communist Party advocates carrying out a new ecological policy. Its goal is to create healthy living conditions for people, to substantially improve the conditions of the air and water basins, in particular, the Lake Sevan Basin and the land areas of the Ararat Valley, as well as the city of Yerevan.

In the sphere of ecology the Armenian Communist Party will be conducting a policy to effectively combine the interests of developing our republic's economy and protecting the natural environment, to assist in finding a scientifically well-founded solution to our environmental-protection problems, the juridical and economic protection of ecological norms, to facilitate the replacement of production units which are harmful to the environment with ecological "clean" ones, or restructuring them.

In advocating the carrying out of radical changes in the political and economic system and the conversion to a market-type economy, the Armenian Communist Party considers its highest obligation to be the active struggle for the rights and interests of working people, of workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, and the socially less-well-off strata of the population—for their social protection, and for social justice.

#### **Progress in Spiritual Life**

The Armenian Communist Party considers one of the high-priority lines of its policy to be further progress in science, culture, and art. In its activity in this sphere the party uses the historical experience of the people, its spiritual values and traditions. It strives to express the objective needs of society, the moods, attitudes, and aspirations of the broad masses.

The party considers one of the basic principles in the development of spiritual life to be the freedom of intellectual and artistic creativity. The party rejects the administrative approach, ideological rubber stamps and clichés in the sphere of spiritual activity. The highest goal of spiritual, creative work is the attainment and expression of humanistic values, the raising of cultural standards, the moral health of the people, as well as the enrichment of its intellectual and artistic potentials.

This republic's Communist Party will employ every measure to assist in strengthening the material and technical base of education, science, and culture, to achieve an increase in their financing, and to strive for development in the spiritual sphere. The party considers

it necessary to upgrade the social status of staff members working in the spiritual sphere and the degree of their social protection, to increase the rate of remuneration for creative work, as well as to improve the social and everyday conditions of their life and creative work.

It will consistently carry out a policy aimed at overcoming the divisiveness and isolation in academic, VUZ, and sectorial science, at strengthening its ties with the production lines, at overcoming the gap between theory and practice in the interests of transforming science into a truly productive force in the interests of increasing production efficiency.

The Armenian Communist Party considers that an understanding of present-day tasks presupposes a comprehension and elucidation of the historical past from the viewpoint of truthfulness and scientific objectivity. We need to eliminate the "blank spots" in the history of the Armenian people's national-liberation struggle and the revolutionary movement in Armenia and Transcaucasia. We need to truthfully present a picture of the changes which occurred in the people's lives after the establishment of the Soviet regime. And we need to provide a scientific evaluation of the sociopolitical trends and parties operating within the Armenian reality.

The Armenian Communist Party decisively rejects the outmoded concepts concerning the social sciences as objects for party-administrative control and pragmatic utilization.

The Communist Party supports the creation of various forms and trends for the Armenian national, general-educational school, measures for raising the level of teaching, aimed at a multifaceted instruction and upbringing of the pupils, solving problems connected with their training for further study, and work in various spheres of production and spiritual life. The party will assist in the genuine rebirth of the school as one of the basic sites for the intellectual, moral, spiritual, and physical upbringing and education of the rising generation.

The higher schools must be reoriented, rekeyed to the tasks stemming from the prospects for scientific and technical, socioeconomic, political, spiritual, and cultural developments in this republic. The interests of our society's multifaceted progress persistently demand a radical restructuring of VUZ education, an upgrading of its standards to the level of world achievements. The party will act as an advocate of the broadest possible autonomy for VUZ's, for a democratization of their leadership, and for student self-government.

The Armenian Communist Party considers one of the most important lines of its policy to be the development of national culture, folk creativity, careful and thrifty preservation, as well as renovation of national historical monuments, plus objects of material and spiritual culture. Propagandizing the values of the cultural heritage

and the history of the Armenian people constitutes one of the important tasks of the Communist Party.

The Armenian Communist Party acknowledges the positive role played by the Armenian Apostolic Church in consolidating the Armenian people, as well as in their moral and patriotic upbringing. Freedom of conscience must be under the reliable protection of the state; and working people must have all the necessary conditions for being able to celebrate their religious ceremonies without obstacles or hindrances.

### Restructuring Intraparty Work

The Armenian Communist Party is profoundly aware of the need to radically restructure its forms, methods, operating style, and organizational structures. Over the course of several decades, when it was the core or nucleus of the administrative-command system, the party exercised administrative functions which were not really part of its proper task. It employed the methods of dictatorship, rigid centralism, and manifested intolerance toward any sort of creative or critical thought. All this deformed the party and led to the overthrow of intraparty democracy, to manifestations of ideological and moral degeneration. A crisis arose in the party, just as it did in the society.

The party's further development and elevating its work to the level of present-day requirements dictate the need for a radical renovation of the party, democratization of its activity, affirmation of new principles in its relations with public organizations and parties.

In decisively rejecting political and ideological monopolism, as well as administrative functions in the spheres of production and culture, the party is concentrating all its activity on theoretical, political, ideological, and educational work, along with working out scientific prognoses and recommendations on the society's development.

The Armenian Communist Party decisively rejects democratic centralism in its bureaucratic-hierarchical form, as it evolved and was affirmed in its structure and activity. The party will consistently strive to attain a genuine democratism as in the following: the principle of electing or replacing staff personnel, glasnost, implementing the right of the minority to defend its own viewpoint, genuine participation by the party masses, party organizations and organs in working out its policies and strategies, in working out its theoretical, political, and ideological problems, conducting referenda on key problems of the party's activities. The party will conduct a course aimed at broadening the independence of its own press organs, mass media, glasnost, and quality of initiative.

Mutual relations between the Communist Party and other public organizations will be constructed on the principles of equality, cooperation, and partnership for achieving common goals. Of particular importance are the mutual relations between the Armenian Communist



Party, the Armenian Youth Union, and other progressive youth organizations for the purpose of involving them in solving nationwide problems.

While acknowledging and condemning the errors, lawlessness, and violence which it permitted in the past, the Armenian Communist Party, at the same time, must clearly point out the incommensurateness with the interests of the people shown in the unjust attacks on the party whose goal isto completely blacken the path which it followed, including everything that was achieved by the joint efforts of our people and our party.

The Armenian Communist Party hereby declares that it will carry out the necessary radical changes in the cause of democratizing the party and, by means of specific deeds, will struggle to restore its authority, firmly expressing the national interests of the Armenian people.

### Central Asia

#### Appeal to Central Asian Military Deserters

91US0125A Tashkent KOMSOMOLETS  
UZBEKISTANA in Russian 15 Sep 90 p 1

[Article: "Appeal of the Military Council of the Red Banner Turkestan Military District to All Servicemen Who Have Deserted Their Units, and to Their Parents"]

[Text] Comrades!

The Military Council of the Red Banner Turkestan Military District appeals to you in these complex and critical times in the life of our country and its armed forces. Serious transformations in the economy, development of democracy, and active inclusion of millions of people into political life have brought many urgent problems in all areas of our life to the surface.

Aggravation of the sociopolitical situation is doubtlessly having an effect on the life of military collectives, creating tension and negative phenomena in them. Attempts by certain separatists, extremists, and nationalistic forces to drive a wedge between the people and the army, to split it up and scatter it among the different nations, to blacken that which is most sacred—the friendship of the peoples of the USSR, and to bring down the traditions of brotherhood, comradely mutual assistance and internationalism, which have always been inherent to our army, are especially dangerous today.

All of this cannot but have an effect on military discipline. Unfortunately, cases of servicemen deserting their units, including servicemen called up from Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, have recently grown more frequent.

#### Comrade privates and sergeants who have left your units!

Think deeply about what you have done. We understand that you took this step upon encountering serious difficulties in army service, and certain negative phenomena

existing in the military collectives, more under the influence of emotion than of reason. Desertion is not a means of fighting the army's problems, but more likely a manifestation of weak will and passiveness, which do nothing for your manliness.

**Respected elders [aksakaly], war and labor veterans, parents and older brothers of young soldiers!**

You have a great deal of influence on the young. We ask you to help young people realize that service in the USSR Armed Forces is an honorable obligation, and the sacred duty of every citizen of our country, and to understand that only the army is capable of protecting the peaceful labor of the Soviet people.

Can you really say that your life's path was any easier than that of your children and grandchildren? Can you really say that your living and working conditions were any easier in your younger years? Even so, you are able to surmount the difficulties.

We appeal to your wisdom and your life experience. Don't let your children, grandsons and brothers become deserters, explain to them that by deserting their units, they have assumed the path of crime.

We are prepared to cooperate with you and to provide, if necessary, assistance to you and your sons.

The commands of the districts, formations and units are now doing a great deal to improve the moral climate in army collectives, and to improve personal conditions, trade services and medical support to servicemen. A decisive struggle has been initiated against negative phenomena in the life of military units.

In our appeal to you, we want to say that in regard to those privates and sergeants who admit their guilt and recognize the wrongfulness and unlawfulness of their actions, and voluntarily return to their units, the matter of releasing them from criminal liability will be examined in a favorable light, and a possibility will be provided for them to honorably fulfill their constitutional and patriotic duty in defense of the fatherland.

It is our hope that our appeal will find a response, and that it will be met with support and understanding.

#### Leader Yestekov Explains 'Islam and Democracy' Movement Goals

91US0232A Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 Dec 90 p 4

[Interview with Preacher Almaz Yestekov by Ye. Belostotskaya: "Preacher Abdulla"]

[Text] Translated from the Arabic, Abdulla means "slave of Allah." This was the name by which Muslim believers call Almaz Yestekov, 35, Kazakh, VGIK [All-Union State Cinematography Institute] dropout, leader of the "Islam and Democracy" Movement, editor-in-chief of



the newspaper TURKESTAN, and preacher. He, however, considers such description of his activities inaccurate: "The real preachers are the prophet Mohammed and Christ...."

His appearance is exotic. A pleasant dark-complexioned face, curly shoulder-length hair, dressed in a white robe. Thus dressed he has preached in the mosques in Moscow, Leningrad and Central Asia and, just as willingly in nonorthodox Muslim prayer houses. He is frequently seen at democratic meetings.... Ordinarily, he wears a shirt with a tie. He is cheerful, witty and, in general, not alien to human joys. He has a superb command of the Russian language and is well-familiar with European philosophy.

We see in the newspaper TURKESTAN, which has a circulation of 50,000 and whose publisher and editor-in-chief is Almaz Yestekov, a certain frenzy in its tonality. A certain frenzy can be also felt in his way of speaking. More than anything else, this is an indication of the fiery nature of a still young person or else of the zeal of a neophyte. It is not all that long ago that he began to believe in Allah and his prophet.... Or else, it may be that we are simply unused to the style of his articles which, as a rule, begin with the words "in the name of Allah the merciful, the compassionate...." and are interwoven with verses from the Koran....

He flew into Baku at the time of the bloody interethnic conflict. Despairing of putting an end to the bloodshed with his speeches, he photographed a number of events of those terrible days. In TURKESTAN issues which came out after those tragic events, he included his appeal to the People's Front of Azerbaijan. In all of our interethnic conflicts, Almaz has never accused the people or taken sides. He is with those who demand an end to the bloodshed and peace in our land and an end to interethnic and tribal discord.

In the past he was a member of the board of the Democratic Alliance; two years ago, however, he left it for reasons, he claims, of moral disagreement with some of its leaders.... It was after they assigned to him to found in Kazakhstan a national movement (including a national guard) the purpose of which was to "expel the Russian occupation forces."

"Then you hit," Almaz says. "The people now are enraged: all they know is to shout 'expel' (although this as well is madness), for they intend to kill! At that point tanks will start rolling along the streets and they will be killing everyone, guilty and innocent alike. Blood will flow like a river and you will be sitting in Moscow applauding: once again the Center is wrongly solving the national problem. I shall not go along with such a monstrous provocation.... Incidentally, in Kazakhstan as well there are forces which, for the sake of their selfish purposes, are using such provocations, aimed at extremists.... Benzo, one of the first prime ministers of unified Italy, said that even an idiot could rule a country in a state of siege."

[Belostotskaya] Why did you name your newspaper TURKESTAN?

[Yestekov] I would like for the Turkic peoples of Central Asia, an area whose historical name is Turkestan, to unite within the Soviet Union.

[Belostotskaya] However, since ancient times not only Turks have lived in Central Asia. Would you ignore, shall we say, the Tajiks?

[Yestekov] Naturally, no. I would like to assist in the awakening and democratization and the political and cultural self-awareness of the Turkic and Farsi peoples (Tajiks, Persians, Polyshi—interviewer). I could have said "Islamic peoples," but the idea of Islam has assumed a certain narrow meaning. For example, the Turkic-speaking Gagauz and Altai are Christian.

You personally probably know that in the past 500 years all of these nations fell behind in many parts of the planet. Over the past 200 years Russia's imperial and colonial policy affected us, in general, negatively, although not in everything. Today, however, Russia is contributing to our enlightenment. Thanks to the democratic changes in Russia a fresh wind has started blowing in Central Asia, Kazakhstan and the Caucasus. That is also why I say "no" to anti-Russian slogans. In Central Asia many Russians have most closely linked their lives to that of Russia. I dream of a new historical community of people who would live in Turkestan and in its sovereign republics—Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Koreans, Uygur, Germans, Russians...., on the basis of Slavic-Turkic dualism, which goes back centuries. I am confident that if people who inhabit our ancient land and who speak different languages would forget their quarrels and would unite for the sake of progress and the renovation of society, this could become one of the guarantees for the further safe development of Eurasia.

[Belostotskaya] Is the task of the "Islam and Democracy" Movement also one of unification?

[Yestekov] Naturally. But, not only that. Our movement is a response to the growing interest in the country in the undeservedly discredited significance of religion in the development of society. In the Soviet East that applies to Islam, to the Koran. The people are tired of hopelessness, poverty, drunkenness and drug addiction. How to escape them? The fastest and not entirely forgotten way for the Muslims or for those whose fathers and grandfathers were Muslims is the mosque. In my view, this is an excellent way. If a person were to visit a mosque he would be drawn back to it like a magnet. He would see the beauty, the nobility and spirituality in the faces of the old people, people whose soul and hands are clean.... The Muslim ceremony of ablution alone has a tremendous impact on the inner self-esteem of the individual. It is as though it cleanses the soul.... When the prayer is heard, no music can match such inspired and profound chants: their words and melodies have something magic which sanctify the individual. The people go to the mosques because that which surrounds them in their daily life

shows a degradation of everything and everyone! However, it is not only the external beauty of the service which can restore the people's morality. Above all, it is the humanistic ideals. The purpose of our movement is to restore and assert them.

[Belostotskaya] Did your movement have an organizational committee?

[Yestekov] It consisted of my teachers, clergymen of no high rank but broadly educated and with broad viewpoints. Incidentally, they regularly read the secular press and, in general, secular literature. Zulkarnay, who is a mullah in Dzhambul Oblast, is one of them. Perfectly familiar with the Koran, he finds in it coincidences and parallels with the present and makes interesting discoveries rejoicing like a child. For example, we read in the Koran: "Do you not see that the earth turns around the sun and that the sun is its guide." Why did the priests have to burn the great scientist Giordano Bruno when this fact was already familiar to the illiterate Mohammed? Why did he announce this firmly and confidently? How could this thought have come to him? The source can only be a divine revelation.

[Belostotskaya] Forgive me, this may sound like a prejudice or be a result of inadequate information but, one way or another, European social thinking considers Islam a religion which is essentially aggressive and cruel, which divides people into "pure" and "impure" (nonbelievers) and which encourages fanaticism in people.

[Yestekov] I expected you to ask this. As we say today this is a good question. You must realize that for centuries man made religion fit his own understanding and development. This applies to any religion, not to Islam alone. Fraudulently the ruling elite channeled the faith of the people in a direction suitable to itself. That is perhaps why God punished all of us, both the false prophets who raised God's banner and those who raise false banners. It is only we who can distinguish between good and evil and those who claim otherwise are wrong.... The main command of the Koran is "no coercion in religion." That is why I and my teachers are sick, for example, of what is taking place in Iran: a woman is executed for failing to wear the chador and a man is beaten up for failure to go to the mosque.... True Islam rejects such coercion of man.... Understand, I am deeply convinced that everything that is humane, eternal, moral and beautiful which is in the Koran comes from God, from the truth. All else is accretions invented by people who are quite distant from God.

Let us look at history. When Islam appeared, various tribes inhabited the land of the Arabs, killing each other. Thanks to Islam they united and there was no more bloodshed. The Arab soldiers laying siege to Bukhara, Samarkand and Baghdad would send forward a herald, to use the European term, who would say: "We have not come here to destroy you or to burn you. We are sending five people for 1 week to address you on the market square." On the square these

people read verses from the Koran and the citizens themselves opened the gates to the soldiers and, essentially, to the missionaries of Islam. Islam came without violence, for which reason it sunk roots.

It would be difficult to determine who began to preach evil in the name of the prophet but the task of the "Islam and Democracy" Movement is to separate the wheat of our teaching from the chaff. The prophet Mohammed preached that which he was told by Archangel Gabriel. The pure, primary and true Koran is as much God inspired as is the Bible. They were created on the basis of the same ideas and in the name of the same divine and universal human ideals and that which coincides in those great books is the truth. Even the names coincide. Compare: Abram-Abraham-Ibrakhim; David-Davud-Daud; Moses-Musa; Jesus-Isa... the Koran accepts and reveres the divinity, the holiness of the great prophets of the Old and New Testaments.

True faith cannot lead people to enmity. How could a true believer say "go and kill"? How could he teach a Muslim to "kill the Christian for he is of a different faith"? Christ did not say "kill the people of different creed!" He called for charity and unity in his name. Mohammed was similarly blessed by God and could not call for hating others! Woe to the false prophets who worship him.

[Belostotskaya] Almaz, what is your attitude toward the shariat, the religious law which governs almost every single step in daily life? Is the shariat archaic and no longer practical (although it may have been so at one point)? Daily life changes much faster than customs. Orthodox Islam, however, considers the shariat eternal.

[Yestekov] Islam legitimized feudal and tribal relations and customs and, as a rather young religion, it has not been able as yet to reinterpret them as Christianity was able to do, without abandoning the basic divine precepts. "Islam and Democracy" tries to make our religion not a chain blocking the free development of man but a joy. It is high time for us to abandon the foundations and dogmas of the Middle Ages and the ossified shariat. Nonetheless, we can and must remain essentially Muslim.

For example, after adopting Islam, the Kazakh women and the women of some other areas of Turkestan did not wear the veil. Therefore, their descendants do not violate the customs of their ancestors (incidentally, the Arab Bedouins have never hid their faces—author). Nor did men have to shave their heads. Incidentally, this "instruction" has nothing in common with Mohammed's doctrine and laws. According to historians, his hair was waist long.... Our first task is to return the people to God and not to the long hair of their ancestors.... If a person, obeying the shariat, must pray five times daily, love his wife and children, work conscientiously, have a clean soul and a clean conscience, would he not be more useful than the one who does not pray but endlessly keeps drinking vodka and producing defective goods? The main thing is to follow the

shariat in what is eternal, for the basic law is to love God, i.e., to be moral; then, it is to love father and mother and one's wife and children....

Does this not unite us with the Christians and with anyone in whom morality is alive? I cry when I see on television Christian clergymen say that God called upon the people to purify their souls. I find hurtful that Muslim leaders do not address their flock on the air with these sacred words. I painfully regret that the great legacy of mankind—the sacred books (the Koran, the Bible, the New Testament) are still unable to unite the people. I am confident that the people of all faiths would hear the words of the Muslim teacher the way they listen to the Christian teachers, for both religions assert human values. I personally profoundly revere the teachings of Christ and, possibly, I would consider as basic in my life the words of Christ for, essentially, those are the words of God which Mohammed brought to my ancestors. Belief in Mohammed, however, means belief in my land and my people. That is why I am a Muslim.

[Belostotskaya] What is your attitude toward nonbelievers?

[Yestekov] Totally loyal. Those whose heart is open to faith and those whose heart is closed to it are equal. However, one must not impose one's faith on anyone else, for this violates the harmony of the entire world....

[Belostotskaya] Almaz, recently you held in Moscow the first congress of the peoples of the Soviet East, at which an assembly of these peoples was created for the purpose of reconciling, of uniting them and restoring their rights. At the meeting in Alma-Ata you called for the peaceful solution of the disputes between sovereign Russia and sovereign Kazakhstan. Do you believe that the word, despite all its strength, can today prevent the shedding of blood?

[Yestekov] I believe in the reasonability of the precepts of God and the reasonability of the crown of his creation, man. However, I would have been blind had I passively trusted the power which our past has over us. I believe in a kind, omnipotent and powerful God who rules our 20th century as well. However, I also believe in the will of man when he hears the voice of not Satan but God. Brothers, I do not want blood!

[Belostotskaya] Almaz, in the past you trained for work in motion pictures. Have you abandoned this forever?

[Yestekov] I dream once again of resuming such work, to write, to direct, to film. Today, however, I am Abdulla, the slave of Allah. I shall continue to be that as long as people are dying in our land and as long as I am able to prevent bloodshed.

#### Addendum: Karimov Report to Uzbek CP Congress

#### IV. For an Efficient Independent Economy

90US1089C Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
5 Jun 90 pp 2-6

[Political Report of the Central Committee to the 22d Uzbek CP Congress given by the First Secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee and Uzbek President I.A. Karimov: "On the Course and Basic Directions of Perestroika, on the Tasks of Ensuring the Sovereignty and Economic Independence of Uzbekistan, on the Place and Role of the Uzbek CP in the New Political System of the Nation and the Republic." The following text was inadvertently dropped from the article published under the above headline in the 3 August 1990 JPRS Report Soviet Union: Political Affairs, JPRS-UPA-90-047, pages 39-49.]

[Text] Comrades! At present, as never before, there is a timely ring to the thesis that policy is the concentrated expression of the economy. Just what does this mean? Above all, to set out a program of actions for the republic communists in the economic and social sphere. What must the Uzbek CP do in order to bring the republic to the path of economic independence and wrest it from the clutches of the protracted crisis?

In carrying out these tasks, it is essential to take a completely new approach to assessing those resources and opportunities which Uzbekistan possesses. It is essential to view our potential from the viewpoint of its attractiveness for the Union and world market. Our republic possesses unique natural and climatic conditions which, to put it frankly, are used completely insufficiently. In all times, the people of Uzbekistan have been fed by its nature, land and water. And today these remain our most valuable wealth. Everything can grow on this land. It is merely a question of deciding what is most advantageous and income-bearing, and from what we can obtain the highest return. Considering market conditions, we ourselves will decide what we must grow. If now this can be cotton, then tomorrow it may be fruits, vegetables, feed or something else bringing income to the republic and its people. We categorically do not agree with those who would run down the enormous work done to develop the lands and reclaim them, those who would even propose to blow up the reservoirs and turn the land into a desert supposedly for improving the ecological situation. They are not aware of what permanent values we possess. They completely ignore or disregard the fact that on the developed areas towns, settlements and villages have grown up and precisely these lands provide work and feed millions of people.

It must not be forgotten that irrigated land requires tending. In recent years, less attention has been paid to the questions of improving the irrigation and reclamation state of the land. In Uzbekistan there are 500,000 hectares of heavily and medium-salined lands. And

money for these purposes must be sought out. If we are careful with our lands, if we use them reasonably and effectively, then we can feed not only the 20 million persons but many more.

Enormous resources lie concealed in the bowels of Uzbekistan. The republic is capable of meeting its own demand for many years to come for gas, condensate and coal. New oil deposits have been discovered and these in the near future will increase oil output by three-four-fold. In the Kyzylkum we intend to begin developing major deposits of phosphorites. And of course there are enormous resources of non-ferrous and noble metals. Certainly Uzbekistan produces the highest-test gold which is called foreign-exchange gold and at present proposals are now being prepared on the effective use of this in the interests of the republic. All of these and scores of other types of industrial and agricultural raw materials as well as finished products have an unlimited demand on the market and can serve to strengthen the republic's economic potential and economic independence.

In speaking about resources which Uzbekistan possesses it is essential that the greatest valuable of the republic is its people, the industrious people who, if given a chance and conditions are created, are capable, as they say, of moving mountains. Individual statements can be heard about the inability of our people, for example, to work in modern industrial sectors and the related low employment. This is said by those who absolutely have no knowledge either of the people or the real situation. While in the republic there are around a million unemployed, this is not because these people do not want to work. It must be admitted that we, the leaders, and the current organization of production and labor have not provided them with jobs, housing, nurseries or vocational-technical schools. Only the humility and patience of the people and their still surviving trust in us make it possible for them to endure the hardships and concerns of life.

In what manner are these enormous riches and resources to be employed in order to raise our people up to a level which they fully deserve? The Uzbek CP feel that the main path for resolving this chief problem is to fundamentally alter the economic structure. It is essential to see to it that the raw material resources are basically processed on republic territory. Here the main thing is to correctly set the priorities and the sequence in this most important work considering the existing market conditions. This will create real prerequisites for increasing national income, for stabilizing and increasing the budget as well as for improving the material standard of living of the people. In a similar manner we must approach the output of finished product based upon our nonferrous metals, nitron, caprolactam, building materials and so forth.

An important area for rapidly increasing production potential, the output of essential commodities and providing employment and earning for the population is the development of small enterprises, affiliates and shops and the locating of these in labor-surplus areas. Small enterprises, a

shop with flexible production are more tolerant of the caprices of demand and provide employment for rapidly growing labor resources.

Fundamental measures must also be taken to even out the start-up situation in the regions. Uneven industrial development is particularly apparent in the Kashkadarya, Syrdarya, Khorezm and Surkhandarya Oblasts. There is a particularly great lag in the Karakalpak ASSR, where per capita production of industrial product is one-half the average republic level. We feel it our duty to provide the greatest possible aid to Karakalpakia, the only autonomous republic in Uzbekistan and all of Central Asia. This is not only an economic question but also a political one.

Also promising is the establishing of wide-specialty industrial combines in the rayon centers, small towns and settlements. This makes it possible not only to recreate forgotten artistic and folk handicrafts, but also broaden the production of necessary products for the population and local building materials. In the current and future years, we intend to establish over 150 such combines with a production volume of 120-130 million rubles of consumer goods.

We have all conditions for eliminating the current dependence of the republic for consumer goods. Specific programs are required based on the import-export balances for developing light and local industry. In actuality, why should the republic import one-quarter of the required garment products, one-third of the knitwear and cotton textiles and almost one-half of the footwear? All of this could be produced from local raw materials on the spot.

An inseparable part of our restructuring must be a breakthrough to mastering the achievements of modern scientific and technical progress as well as the accelerated development of the scientific- and labor-intensive production sectors. We must fundamentally modernize and create new enterprises and a range of product produced in machine building, radio electronics and instrument building. We have for this all the necessary resource prerequisites as well as the scientific-technical and design facilities. There is no future without emerging in leading positions of science and technical progress. Only on this basis can we establish our relations with other regions and foreign countries as fully equal partners.

How should agriculture develop? The republic's agrarian sector is that element in the economy which by taking up we can solve a majority of the problems in Uzbekistan.

The central question in the entire agrarian policy of the Uzbek CP remains the attitude toward cotton raising. We state categorically that we will fight consistently against cotton monocropping. It has been imposed on the republic by fiat from the center and has caused incalculable harm to Uzbekistan and its population.



Moreover, the peasantry, having fulfilled their international duty and ensured the cotton independence of the nation, received just 2,200 rubles of income per hectare. But with the complete processing of the cotton, we could obtain up to 100 types of articles from it and 18,000-20,000 rubles of income, or 10-fold more. We must thoroughly investigate all of this. How can our cotton be used most efficiently? What would be best to produce from it? How could we actively influence the market? All of this must be studied. Even the stems and bolls, the oil cake and the lint with their correct use could produce three-four-fold more income than we presently obtain.

We have made real steps toward the scientific management of cotton raising, to the sound introduction of crop rotations and we will move further in this direction. We have set the task of reducing the production of cotton fiber by 100,000 tons in 1991, and the level of the state order here should not exceed one-half of the produced product. The freed lands will be used for satisfying the urgent needs of the people, including for broadening the production of livestock output.

The agrarian policy of the Uzbek CP proceeds from the primacy of the food complex for supplying the public with food products. A sound program has been worked out which envisages the more than doubling of the output of fruit and vegetable products by 1995. This will meet the needs of the republic population and also make it possible to increase food sales under mutually advantageous conditions.

We must accelerate to a maximum the construction of processing industry enterprises. Prior to 1995, Uzbekistan should build 300 small-capacity shops. This will significantly increase the resources of foodstuffs and will improve their supply to the public, and will broaden the opportunities for their advantageous sale on the domestic Union and world market.

The communist party sees its major task in the social restructuring of the countryside. We proceed from the view that if the peasant house and farm are well equipped, if the peasant lives prosperously, then the city dweller will also live well and there will be sufficient food in the stores and markets. If the peasant courtyard is decrepit and poor, then the city and all society will be poor and hungry.

For this reason, everyone should work on seeing to it that the village emerges from its poverty and that the rural house becomes richer, more prosperous. We disagree categorically with the notion that the social upsurge of the countryside is its own concern. On behalf of the congress we state to the peasants that you and we will not remain in poverty. We will find the centralized capital investments for the social restructuring of the countryside and for improving its water supply, central gas delivery and the development of the infrastructure. This is our task, this is our duty.

Comrades, it is essential to emphasize that those goals which were set out in the election platform of the CP remain unchanged and we will work consistently and firmly for their attainment.

The profound structural changes in the republic economy are aimed at sharply raising the efficiency of foreign economic potential. As of now, it is very little realized. Only 160 enterprises are engaged in delivering products overseas. Basically raw products and materials are exported. Only 14 joint enterprises involving foreign firms have been established and this is completely insufficient.

Not all the collectives are correctly utilizing the opportunities granted for going overseas. Thus, last year the republic association *Uzkhlopokprom* [Uzbek Cotton Industry] earned 34 million foreign exchange rubles. However the leadership of the association and the cotton mills, without considering the opinion of the labor collectives, used the basic funds for acquiring prestige cars, minibuses, video equipment, tape recorders and so forth. Here the imported equipment was distributed to organizations not directly involved in the delivery of cotton for export. Certainly, the republic has not solved the most pressing questions of medical services for the people, for protecting children and for producing vitally necessary goods. And most importantly, the cotton is the achievement of the entire people and primarily the cotton growers who raise it by their heroic labor and it must not be disposed of without considering their interests. Everyone must know this.

For the purposes of strengthening the coordinating of foreign economic ties, the republic *Vneshkonombank* [Foreign Economic Bank] has been established and we are organizing an Uzbek State Committee for Foreign Trade and Foreign Ties. The foreign exchange earned by the labor of thousands of cotton growers and all the republic workers should serve not the whims of individual highly placed officials but rather the vitally important interests of the republic and all its population.

As the political and economic sovereignty of the republic is strengthened, ties with foreign countries will assume a new content. In the foreign policy area, this will mean the establishing of direct ties with foreign countries who organize reciprocal collaboration. We will independently settle the questions of scientific-technical, trade-economic and cultural exchanges, and on a planned base will involve republic personnel in the work of international organizations, the Soviet consulates, general consulates and trade agencies. The opening of republic agencies abroad is also not to be excluded.

In a word, the full realization of constitutional right in the area of international relations should be the determining factor in the development of the foreign political and economic ties of the republic.

Now the question of the transition to market relations. Proceeding from the goals and tasks set out in the election platform, the republic should develop a reliable



mechanism for efficiently utilizing our resources and capabilities in the transitional period and for social protection of the population, particularly its more poorly-off strata.

Here a key question is the ownership problem. Without having defined our understanding of ownership, it is impossible to work out approaches to production relations, in other words, what forms of property have the right to citizenship in the republic.

The Uzbek CP sees a key factor for a controlled market in a diversity of ownership forms. Along with state property, collective, joint stock, family, personal labor and private property will become widespread with equal rights.

Certainly, the process of denationalization, that is, the converting of individual production facilities from state to cooperative, joint stock and others should be carried out on a reasonable basis. It is essential to determine in a careful and balanced manner in what sectors and specifically which enterprises and organizations can be purchased by the employees in their collectives, which would be better turned into joint stock societies, concerns and so forth.

It is not to be excluded that certain production facilities currently operating at a loss can be sold on easy terms.

Great doubts have been voiced over the possibility of the rise of private property.

In Uzbekistan, considering the acute needs of the national economy and the resource capabilities, small or, to put it frankly, little private enterprises can operate very successfully. Just what will these enterprises be? First of all, they can be organized for producing consumer goods, folk handicrafts as well as in the sphere of public dining and domestic services and subsidiary enterprises, the processing of secondary resources and production wastes as well as for carrying out simple orders of the large associations. Clearly the range of such production and the size of the enterprises should be clearly stipulated in the legislation.

Small, unspecialized enterprises in a short period of time could provide a tangible increase in goods and services. Moreover, their creation will make it possible to find jobs for a portion of the currently unemployed population. We do not exclude but, on the contrary, will encourage the organization of small- and medium-sized enterprises, affiliates and shops by large production complexes, including those located in other regions of the nation. Naturally, this will occur under the control of the government and the local bodies and only in those areas which meet the interests of the republic. The full providing of their collectives with both housing and cultural-service facilities should be an indispensable condition for the establishing of such production subdivisions.

Considering the enormous interest in the republic shown by foreign firms, it is essential to intensify work in establishing joint enterprises. Here the main area is to attract potential foreign partners in producing consumer goods and scientific-intensive products. What is attractive here? Along with the possibilities of utilizing foreign investments and progressive technology, we can familiarize our people with modern methods of organizing production, with world quality standards, establish permanent ties and so forth.

Particularly attention must be paid to the question of the ownership of land. This cannot be resolved in a uniform manner. In the first place, we have irrigated farming and we must settle not merely the land problem but also the land-water one. Irrigated land produces 95 per cent of the agricultural product. These are completely different conditions in comparison with Russia where it is a question of enormous areas of idle land.

Secondly, we must consider the taut situation which has arisen even now after an actual halt in new land development. At present, in Uzbekistan for every person employed in agriculture there is from 1.2 to 0.8 of a hectare, and if we take it on a per capita basis, then it is 0.4 and even less, 0.2 of a hectare, for example, in the Fergana Valley. Over the long run, the picture will grow even more acute.

As a whole, it is essential to bear in mind that our irrigated land is in acute short supply and we have virtually nothing to give out for private use. Even now, numerous disputes have arisen over land and water and these are being settled with great difficulty.

Let us take the questions of water supply. We link this question directly to the tragedy of our region which in terms of importance is no less than the Chernobyl tragedy and this is the saving of the Aral. At present, it is clear that considering the demographic features in the Central Asian Region, its population by the year 2005 will double and will be over 60 million persons. How can we provide them with a job and a viable standard of living? It is clear even to every nonspecialist that with such a growth of the population, we should first of all tap that potential which the region possesses. In Uzbekistan alone, it is possible to increase the irrigated land to 10 million hectares with the 4 million which we now have.

Similar possibilities are also to be found in Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenia and Kirghizia. In recent years, in criticizing the shortcomings in land development, instead of correcting them, a decision has been taken to completely halt work on shifting a portion of the run-off of the Siberian rivers.

The Decree of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on this question has instructed the USSR Gosplan, the Academy of Sciences and other central departments to work out a general plan for the development of the Central Asian Region over the long run. No one is carrying out this assignment. We are firmly convinced that we must return to this question, because those major

difficulties which are being encountered even now by the Central Asian Republics in providing the population with the necessary conditions of human activity, tomorrow will grow and intensify immeasurably.

Everything that is now being done to save the Aral and for the economic utilization of the natural resources and primarily the water ones, this is an undertaking of state and national significance which should be at the center of attention of all. At the same time, if one looks at this question from the viewpoint of the future and from the viewpoint of a fundamental solution to this problem, it can be said unqualifiedly that without diverting water from other regions, this problem cannot be solved.

Not only are the peoples living in Central Asia interested in an affirmative solution to this question. The diverting of these rivers will make it possible to develop the so-called middle region between Siberia and Central Asia, where there are enormous untapped opportunities and which possesses great resources and can become a major food supplier.

All of this shows that we must work out our own Law on Land and Water which corresponds to our conditions and this will be examined at the next session of the republic Supreme Soviet.

Presently, major disputes are underway over the fate of the *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes*. The CPSU Central Committee feels that the *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes* are and will be the basis of the republic's agroindustrial complex. Stably operating and financially healthy farms which ensure the growing prosperity of their workers will be actively developed in the future. But those *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes* which live in debt year after year should realize that they cannot count on this in the future. The fate of each of them will be determined considering the specific circumstances.

The main thing on this question is the new forms of production relations. How do we envisage this in the countryside? In our view, the most correct path is to view the *kolkhozes* as cooperatives. Such an approach is becoming widespread in Tashkent Oblast, the Fergana Valley and other regions of the republic. For example, the *Kolkhoz imeni Kim Pen Khva* in Srednechirchikskiy Rayon and a majority of the farms in Dustlikskiy Rayon are skillfully combining the new forms of economic organization.

Thus, having become a cooperative, the *kolkhoz* will not command but rather serve the farms linked to it including the leasehold, contract, family, individual farmer and others. Its basic task will be agronomic and material-technical supply and, what is particularly important, the questions of selling the products.

The Uzbek CP sees its main task in giving a social focus to the entire economy and to turn it toward man, toward satisfying his needs and requests. During the coming five years, a predominant portion of the disposable national income will be channeled to solve a range of social

problems. We would point out that even this year around 90 percent of the volume of this income is earmarked for these purposes.

In speaking about social orientation, it is essential to emphasize the primary importance of improving public health. With the extremely poor physical plant in this sector, in our republic in addition it is poorly organized and inefficiently used.

Here it is essential to have an extensive range of large-scale measures in order to halt what, without exaggeration, is a disaster advancing on the nation's gene pool. The problem has long outgrown the limits of the oblasts and has reached the level of a general state task. At the same time, among many of the leading cadres, no awareness of concern can be seen. At least neither the Ministry of Health nor the government has submitted fundamental proposals which merit attention.

It is essential to elaborate a clear and diverse system for organizing the medical facilities on the local and republic level, and consider progressive foreign experience considering our conditions. Large specialized medical centers combined with an extensive network of rural and municipal hospitals and polyclinics should become the basic element of such a system. A start has already been made on establishing such a system in the republic. Over the next few years they intend to establish a cardiological center, a regional center for eye microsurgery, a center for protecting the health of mother and child, an urological center as well as others.

In parallel, we must increase the pace of developing an extensive network of wide-specialty hospitals, polyclinics, fieldsher-obstetric points, maternity homes in the rayons, centers and major settlements as well as recreate the district hospitals in the *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes*.

We must also take a new approach to seeking out sources of funds for public health. We must give serious thought to such sources as insurance forms for organizing public health. One thing is clear that public health cannot develop any farther merely using budget funds. It is very important to settle immediately the question of establishing a public health development fund and which would receive funds from highly profitable enterprises, farms, cooperatives and social organizations.

One other important question. It is time to bring back the position of the family doctor. There have long been discussions about this. But no real changes. It is now time to study this question, organize the training of these doctors and create the conditions for their work.

Also necessitating fundamentally new approaches is the entire sphere of public education, the training and rearing of the younger generation. It is essential to achieve a sharp change in providing children with preschool institutions. We must actively broaden the network of nurseries at home, consultative centers and rural nursery school facilities. We will continue to establish

boarding schools for gifted children. We should completely think out and begin the actual creation of territorial children's facilities which would include, along with a nursery and a school, also children's polyclinics, playgrounds together with a swimming pool and facilities for extracurricular work with children.

Thought must also be given to measures aimed at fundamentally changing our approaches to the so-called "woman's" question. We must establish sufficient guarantees for protecting the sociopolitical rights, honor and dignity of women as well as the necessary conditions for her in social production and administration. Protecting the health of mother and child, the educating and culture of the population require all-round socioeconomic and ideological support.

The economic independence of the republic should become the basis for carrying out all these major tasks in the national economy. The important areas for achieving this have been examined and were approved at the first session of the Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet.

The CP feels that the production, scientific-technical potential located on republic territory, the land, the underground mineral wealth and other natural riches are the property of the region. It independently controls these in the interests of primarily its own people. Only those enterprises should remain under Union subordination which relate to the defense industry, individual sectors of heavy industry requiring complete technical reconstruction, the all-Union transport and information systems as well as the enterprises comprising the inter-regional facilities. The question should be posed quite definitely that all raw material and manufacturing sectors which exist in Uzbekistan should be turned over to republic administration. The raw materials and products will be sold for the interests of Uzbekistan.

In the report to the USSR Supreme Soviet on the general plan of a market economy it was stated that for the steady operation of light industry which provides the goods for the nation's public, the volumes of the most important types of resources and, consequently, for cotton fiber, should be included in the state order.

We cannot agree with this. Cotton is the property of the republic and the main source of income for a larger portion of its population. It is enough that at one time Uzbekistan suffered enormous sacrifices, as was already stated, for the sake of achieving the cotton independence of the entire nation.

The interests of the republic dictate that a larger portion of the cotton fiber be sold to consumers on the territory of the nation and abroad at economically set, free prices and we feel that the level of the state order should not exceed at first 50 percent. We should proceed in precisely the same manner for the silk cocoons, for the astrakhan wool, and for the other types of produced products. Our task is to establish a structure so that all the raw products and semifinished delivered from the republic are sold ourselves, without intermediaries. For

this purpose, under the republic Council of Ministers, a specialized organization Uzlegpromsyrye (Uzbek Light Industry Raw Materials) is being established.

All relations with the center and with the other regions should be based on a contract. Here the state order must be viewed in the same manner as a form of contract with equal responsibility and reciprocal obligations.

We understand independence not as self-isolation but, on the contrary, as the development of integration ties on an equal, mutually advantageous basis. Here advantage assumes particular significance. We have long shied away from this word and linked it with something commercial or mercantile. In actuality, this is the most important criterion of normal economic relations. For this reason, the posing of the question: "Is this advantageous or disadvantageous for Uzbekistan?" should become the norm of our economic life, a norm for relations in all elements of the unified national economic complex.

This is particularly important under the conditions of converting to a market. It is our duty in a sober and thorough manner, without illusions and far-fetched approaches to realistically assess the essence and content of the market mechanism under the conditions of Uzbekistan, provide for the possible complexities and consequences of its introduction and establish ahead of time the necessary mechanisms capable of mitigating the acuteness of the transitional period.

In our view, the submitted proposals are far from completely resolving many fundamental questions of ownership, the relationships of the region and the center and the bases for equivalent exchange of products. We simply cannot agree with a whole series of approaches and ideas.

We are categorically against an unilateral, isolated rise in the retail price of bread as of 1 July 1990. This simply eliminates those first steps in achieving an equivalence of prices for grain and cotton and their products which are now being taken. If we add to this the planned increase in the prices for fuel, metal and equipment, the measures to increase the payment for cotton are nullified. Precisely this proportion under our conditions is the crucial factor of economic equality and for increasing the level of the republic's social development and the well-being of its population.

The question of considering and evening out the starting conditions is of fundamental significance for us and we have also repeatedly agreed on this on all levels. This problem is mentioned in the government report. But this was done very hollowly, indifferently, from the standpoint of across-the-board leveling, without considering the contribution of the republic, its current state and the tangible impact on improving the situation. It is no question of charity but rather the legitimate restitution to the economy for its real contribution to the national economic complex.

The question of reducing investment has also been raised in the report of the national government on the general plan for converting to a market economy. In speaking in general terms this, in our view, is an erroneous approach as with such a level of supplying the commodity market and most importantly with such a technical and structural level of production which lags some 15-20 and more years behind the level of the leading countries, such a policy would lead to an even greater lag. There must not be any question of a reduction but rather a fundamental revision of the goals and structural policy and the priorities in capital construction, particularly in the aim of sharply reducing incomplete construction.

Under the conditions of the republic, of particular importance is the allocating of the necessary funds and resources for the restructuring of the economy, for a more proportional placement of the productive forces over the oblasts and regions and a sharp acceleration in the development of the social sphere.

Here the main thing is that we must have clear and effective mechanisms for the social protection of the public. We must not allow the various experiments to be a burden on the shoulders of the people. Particularly under the conditions of our republic, where an improvement in the social position of its inhabitants is the main problem of the day. Its correct and consistent solution is one of the main areas of activity for the Uzbek CP.

Particular attention should be given to the problems of the poorly-off strata of the population and to their prime solution. We cannot and do not have the right to leave unprotected under the harsh conditions of market relations the pensioners, disabled and large families. Above it was mentioned what additional benefits and aid are being set for these categories of the population. Recently they were supplemented by new presidential ukases. In the future we will increase our efforts in this area.

Under the conditions of a transition to the market, particular attention should be given to those who are temporarily deprived of work and join the million-strong army of the unemployed population and which creates a major problem in the republic. These persons must be supported and they should receive unemployment aid and have an opportunity to retrain and master new professions. All that we have said reaffirms the truth of the opinion that the transition to a market should not be carried out without agreement and a nationwide referendum, without the agreement of the Union republics. Ultimately, we are responsible to our people for all the consequences of this major decision to convert to the market.

Particular attention should be given to housing construction. The task has been set over the next five years to complete 67-68 million m<sup>2</sup> of housing and improve the housing conditions of over 6 million persons and this is 1.5-fold more than in the current five-year plan.

The utility services for the public must be sharply improved. The level of coverage with centralized water

supply for the public should rise from 52 percent to 67 percent and in the Aral Sea Zone there are plans by 1995 to have centralized water supply for the entire population. The pace of providing gas to the rural population points will double.

Social changes in the republic will not be carried out just by budget funds. The ministries, departments, enterprises and organizations should also make their contribution to carrying out this task. Presently over 800 kolkhozes, 50 sovkhoses and 85 enterprises have set additional payments for women with families, veterans and pensioners. At the same time, currently in the balances of the special funds of the enterprises in industry and other sectors there are almost 1.3 billion rubles which are immobile and a dead weight, including 242 million rubles earmarked for social development. The Uzbek CP Central Committee will support in every possible way all the undertakings of the labor collectives and the executive committees of the soviets to create a developed system for the social support of the workers.

In order to operate efficiently under the new conditions, it is essential to have highly trained specialists capable of understanding market relations and actively carrying out republic policy. We need, like the air we breathe, a national program for the training of skilled personnel, and primarily from the indigenous nationality. We must have a mechanism for recruiting and encouraging the talented youth, beginning from the school desk. The first steps are already being taken in this direction, but they must be accelerated as much as possible.

Upon the initiative of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, an Uzbek Republic Fund has been established for supporting gifted youth and for recruiting and sending them to study to the leading scientific centers of the nation and abroad. Particular attention must be given to the rural youth, we must not restrict its interests but, on the contrary, create all possible conditions for spiritual and material growth. This is our enormous reserve and, if you wish, a debt which we often forget. The first group of over 100 scientific co-workers has already been sent to the central VUZes [higher educational institution] and scientific-research institutions. This year we plan to send 52 students and 51 scientific workers and specialists for study, for training and for carrying out scientific work to overseas scientific institutions and scientific centers of the nation. We are establishing a Republic Center for Language Training of Students and Scientific Workers and for work here we intend to call in specialists from the United States and Great Britain. The republic government is working on the question of sending young scientists from the republic for training to the best foreign universities.

We must prepare proposals for the beginning of the next academic year to respecialize and open new faculties and departments for training specialists considering modern demands.



In the course of preparing to convert to a market economy, the republic VUZes should organize the training of personnel in international economic relations, including for international marketing, foreign exchange dealings, foreign economic activities and management.

We must not abandon but rather, on the contrary, encourage the sending of our workers overseas for training and under contract. Along with good wages they gain an opportunity to master the most progressive equipment and production methods, progressive labor procedures as well as broaden their professional level.

In summing up what has been said, I would like to emphasize that the Uzbek CP considers as its main task in the area of socioeconomic policy the implementing of fundamental structural changes in the national economy, the giving to it of a greater social focus and turning to the needs and requests of the people. The CP will work to achieve full economic independence on the basis of the priority utilization of the natural-economic potential, the raw material and labor resources in the interests of the Uzbekistan public, and employing a diversity of forms of ownership and management. In strengthening and developing ties in the unified national economic complex, Uzbekistan will act as an equal partner on the internal Union and world markets, not only as a supplier of raw materials but also as the producer of competitive finished products.

#### **V. The Political Sovereignty of Uzbekistan, the Place and Role of the Uzbek CP in the Republic Political System**

90US1089D Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
5 Jun 90 pp 2-6

[Political Report of the Central Committee to the 22d Uzbek CP Congress given by the First Secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee and Uzbek President I.A. Karimov: "On the Course and Basic Directions of Perestroika, on the Tasks of Ensuring the Sovereignty and Economic Independence of Uzbekistan, on the Place and Role of the Uzbek CP in the New Political System of the Nation and the Republic." The following text was inadvertently dropped from the article published under the above headline in the 3 August 1990 JPRS Report Soviet Union: Political Affairs, JPRS-UPA-90-047, pages 39-49.]

[Text] Comrades! A key element in resolving the entire complex of problems concerning the republic's political, socioeconomic and spiritual development and international relations is seen by us in strengthening national statehood and ensuring the real political sovereignty of Uzbekistan.

It is no secret that over these questions the leaders of various informal organizations and movements have proposed externally radical and striking but in actuality adventurist slogans. For example, how else but striking and "revolutionary" is the ring to the calls for complete state independence of the republic? The idea of national separateness and self-isolation is being pushed intensely.

Here they make no mention of what are the real economic opportunities for such independence, what this would cost or what it would bring the republic.

We are tied by thousands of threads to the Union and the Union for us is not merely the addition but rather the multiplying of the forces of all the fraternal peoples.

For this reason, we consider it fundamentally important that political sovereignty and economic independence for the republic mean not a desire for separatism, not isolation, but on the contrary the further deepening and broadening of mutually advantageous integration ties with the other republics comprising the Union.

But it is not that Union which at its essence was an unitary state but rather a truly renewed Union federation of politically sovereign and economically independent republics. With the voluntary delegating to the Union bodies of powers over those questions which can effectively be settled only by joint efforts.

How can we see to it that being part of a unified federation we do not become the hostage to decisions taken from above and which do not conform or do not fully conform to the republic's interests? Where are the guarantees, where is the mechanism for preventing such?

Here it must be said that, regardless of the recent adoption of legislative enactments on the delimitation of powers between the Union and the subjects of federation, on the principles of economic relations of the USSR, the Union and autonomous republics and so forth, we have still not reached the main point. It is a question of working out a new Treaty of Union and this question has long been pressing.

We feel that we are beginning from the wrong end. We feel that we must immediately begin to work out a Treaty of Union. We need a treaty which would preserve and strengthen our multinational state and which would provide free, equal development for each people.

We should show great attention in approaching the problems of the national state organization of the Karakalpak ASSR and for strengthening its sovereignty as an inseparable part of Soviet Uzbekistan. In the process of drafting the new Uzbek Constitution, its draft should clearly formulate the provisions which would ensure an optimum delimitation of powers between the Union republic and the autonomous republic, basing this on the principle of respect and dependable guarantees for its sovereign rights and legitimate interests.

Ensuring the political sovereignty of the republic also requires the adopting of comprehensive measures to increase the role and authority, to broaden the rights and powers of all levels of soviets as bodies of people's rule.

Of great importance in the life of the republic were the recently held elections of the Uzbek people's deputies to the local soviets. As a whole, in the elections a situation was created of the free expression of will of the voters and the possibility to form a qualitatively new composition of the

deputy corps. Even the first sessions of the soviets have shown their real transition from political inertness to political activity and initiative. At the same time, it must be pointed out that the first experience in conducting such elections also disclose much that we must get rid of: the struggle for the deputy mandates was not always carried out in a democratic situation, there were stereotypes of the old thinking, and incorrect and at times impermissible procedures were employed. All of this must be recognized in order to draw the necessary lessons.

Instituting presidential power in Uzbekistan has been an important step. As on the Union scale, the introduction of the post of Uzbek President is aimed at strengthening the mechanism for carrying out the laws and other state enactments. This is of important significance for protecting the interests of the republic, for ensuring its political sovereignty and economic independence, for raising the standard of living of the population as well as for strengthening order and discipline.

The turning over of direct administrative functions to the soviets in no way means that the party can lift its responsibility for carrying out political, economic and social tasks. The new posing of the question is primarily not by asserting its position in society, not by legislation but rather by its concrete deeds the communist party should win authority, elaborate and present to the people political concepts for the further development of the republic and seek their realization through the communists represented in the soviets and the other state bodies.

For this reason, we cannot agree with the attempts to abolish the party organizations in the soviet and state bodies or limit the influence of the communist party on their activities solely to the participation in election campaigns. On the contrary, we must work completely definitely and directly so that the CPSU members working in the soviets set an example of high responsibility for carrying out the demands of the voters. The communist deputies should be guided by truly popular, truly national interests and seek to resolve the urgent problems from party positions. Life dictates and times demand such a style of work by the communists in the soviets.

Providing a new real role for the Uzbek CP in the political system of the republic is impossible without a profound restructuring of the party's own activities.

The republic communists in their basic mass share the opinion that the course of strengthening political sovereignty and economic independence for Uzbekistan presupposes the objective necessity of real independence for the Uzbek CP and freeing it from excessive interference by the center.

We feel that there should be equal representation of the Communist Party in the central leading bodies of the CPSU and their personnel. The communists delegated to them should participate in working out general party decisions and express the interests of the republic and its party organizations.

Experience shows that the new tasks require fundamentally new approaches and methods of work and necessitate new cadres. For many of our leaders who for decades have worked under the conditions of political comfort find it very difficult to adapt. The stereotypes of thinking and conduct have been stronger than the appeals and slogans of perestroika.

For precisely this reason, there has been a significant renewal of the soviet and state apparatus. New cadres have arrived in the Central Committee, in the party obkoms and raykoms.

As you know, all the Central Committee secretaries have been working less than a year. It is still early to draw any conclusions about their style or capabilities but I will say firmly that we are all convinced that the restructuring of party work means above all defending the truth. The truth no matter how bitter it may be. For precisely this reason, the new membership of the Buro has commenced its work by telling the truth to the people on the real state of affairs in the republic. We have the courage and willpower for this. And in today's report we have followed this principle.

The Central Committee Buro at present has selected a collective of competent like-thinkers, and a spirit of party comradeship and frankness reigns. There is also room for criticism and self-criticism. I have been criticized for hotheadedness and for the fact that I may be unrestrained. This is valid criticism.

The Second Secretary, Comrade A.S. Yefimov, is gaining experience and is doing a great deal to improve his work style. However, we would like him to be firmer in carrying out the cadre policy, be more often on the spot and be a quick study of Uzbek.

Comrade D.Kh. Khamidov is mastering the methods of political leadership over the ideological area of work. His advantage is a good knowledge of the intelligentsia and this is extremely important for shaping public opinion. Now it is essential to study more profoundly the problems of the working class, the peasantry, the youth and other groups of the population and restructure ideological work in a spirit of today's needs.

In continuing our assessment of the other secretaries, such as Comrades R.A. Popov and A.I. Khramov, I wish that they would be quicker in determining the modern forms and methods of work, particularly on the questions of economic and social policy, move from words to deeds on the questions of reallocating the functions between the party and the soviets, and struggle more actively against the command-administrative methods of managing the republic economy.

A similar task rests on the Buro members, Comrades Sh.R. Mirsaidov, M.I. Ibragimov, D.D. Berkov, I.Kh. Dzhurabekov and Kh.A. Alimova. We would like to see more independence, initiative and a creative approach in their work, particularly in implementing the campaign platform of the Uzbek CP and defending the interests of the workers. Together with the communist leaders of the ministries and departments, they must be more decisive in breaking up the command-administrative system in the republic state structures.

This same breaking up should occur in the work of the very Buro of our Central Committee. Not to give orders, not to command, and not to interfere in everything—this is what we are endeavoring to escape from in the immediate future. All of us must learn the art of debate and dialogue with those who adhere to a different viewpoint, we must find a common tongue, without conceding the main things, with those who adhere to different, even informal positions. We must not consider ourselves to have a monopoly on the truth.

Under the new conditions the functions of the Buro, as well as all the Central Committee, should be concentrated on the following: work out a strategy for the political and socioeconomic development of the republic and monitor its implementation. This is ideological work, propaganda and agitation, and persuading people of the correctness of the chosen path.

This means winning trust in elections to governing bodies and hence maintaining the position of the ruling party. But it is also the organizational and cadre support for the chosen policy. This is the essence of the methods of political leadership.

Here it is important to emphasize that any policy chosen and supported by a majority of the people is worth something if it is carried out firmly and unswervingly.

At present, some accuse the Central Committee Buro of holding a rigid position in carrying out the set policy. This is quite true.

But tell me, can we allow in our republic what has already become a bitter reality and pain in many regions of the nation?

Or, possibly, some may have other formulas for eliminating social tension and maintaining discipline and order in our anxious home?

Personally, I as a communist and as the President am ready to pay any price for the tranquility of the people in the republic and for uniting all healthy forces for the sake of its better future.

In speaking about positions, about the work style of the Central Committee Buro and Secretariat, one cannot help but say the same about the party committees in the republic as a whole.

At present, the criterion for assessing them cannot be speculative plans, product volumes, tons and cubic

meters. At present, the main criterion for assessing political leadership is the mood of the masses and the ability to control the situation.

Everyone of us must assimilate one basic political pattern: if the party committee is divorced from the masses, if it has closed itself up in its offices, then the masses will leave it for others. There is no vacuum in politics.

Precisely this is what happened in Fergana, in Bukinsky and Parkentskiy Rayons and finally in Andizhan Oblast. Did the obkoms and raykoms, their secretaries and bureau members not see the disorders developing here? Did they really not know about the machinations of the swindlers? Or about the struggle of the Mafia groups? Or the mass speculation? Or instances of bribery and warfare between the clans? And finally, did they really not know what the simple people thought about all of this or what the youth who could not find a job were thinking?

Of course, they did know. But they endeavored to fight evil with paper spears, decrees and decisions. This very style which had outlived itself evoked protest among the people and caused tension.

We, for example, had repeatedly cautioned the former First Secretary of the Andizhan Party Obkom, Comrade Arifdizhanov, that he was divorced from the people. We suggested that he change his style of work and halt all the officious bustling around and face up to the social problems. However, he did not heed this advice. Moreover, he was complacent and assured us that the party obkom was in full control of the situation. Now we know just how much it was in control.

It must be admitted that yes, perestroika in the party has lagged behind perestroika in society. Many party committees think in their old categories, they are little concerned with the people and see the purpose of their work merely in observing the orders descending from above.

In the work style there is more a predominance of mechanical execution than creative approaches. At the same time, it must be said that at present much is being done to escape from the old procedures and style. But the pace of this completely does not satisfy us. But most importantly we are dissatisfied by the fact that for now only the external aspects of the matter are being reformed. Let us agree that we are interested and concerned not with the external aspect, not merely with a change in the structure of the apparatus, or its numbers, but rather we are primarily interested in the internal content of the work. Precisely this determines the political result and hence the stability, the authority of the party organizations and the trust of the people in perestroika.

As an example one could mention Kyzyltepinский (Comrade M. Shamuyev), Uchkurganskiy (Comrade K. Raimzhanov), Mirzakhanskiy (Comrade N.A. Miroshnichenko), Syrdarinskiy (Comrade M.A. Ibadullayev), Sverdlovskiy (Comrade M.R. Rakhmonov) and many

other party raykoms. Here one can see not only the formal indications of perestroika, but there is also the main thing, a fundamental change in the internal content of party work the brunt of which is aimed at solving the most urgent problems of the workers. There is no artificially created divide between these raykoms, the party aktiv and the masses. They all live for the same concerns: how to ease the difficult life of the people, how to feed, provide water and clothe their people, and how to ensure social justice. Characteristically, here there is no hostilities between the party bodies and the informal organizations. They work together, in the interests of the people. And there are good results.

I feel that this entails the entire essence of our party work. If we forget why we are doing it, then we will turn the masses away from us. They will no longer believe us. This cannot be allowed. We will not permit this.

We must in fact work to increase the authority, activeness and initiative of the primary party organizations and through them ensure the real involvement of the party masses in all party affairs.

We firmly favor the maintaining of the territorial-production principle in organizing the primary party organizations and cannot agree with the attempts being made to abolish the party structures in the production collectives, the state and law enforcement bodies.

At the same time, in considering that presently political work at the place of residence is assuming particular importance, the need has arisen of revising views on the organizing of the primary party organizations here with the involvement of all the communists residing here. Party organizations established at the place of residence presently consist mainly of pensioners and cannot assume new political burdens.

Recently, attention to the questions of membership in the CPSU has lessened somewhat. In comparison with 1985, with an overall rise in the ranks of the Uzbek CP by some 22,000 persons, the number of worker communists in the republic party organization declined by more than 7,000 persons. Last year, there was almost a doubling in the number of persons expelled from the CPSU for nonpayment of membership dues and loss of ties with the party organizations.

In line with this, many communists have validly criticized the noticeably easier approach to the questions of admission to the party in the draft of the new CPSU Bylaws. Numerous proposals have been made on the need to keep the institution of the candidate period and incorporate in the Bylaws standards which would guarantee great exactingness of the party organizations on the political and moral qualities of those joining.

Symptoms have also appeared of withdrawal from the CPSU by personal request. Last year, for various reasons, 719 communists turned in their party cards and candidate cards and almost the same number have done

so since the beginning of the current year. These phenomena must be carefully analyzed. If the party is being left by those who joined it out of careerist considerations, then this is one of the manifestations of the healthy process of self-purification. But there are also those who have become confused and are unable to find their way correctly in the difficult situation. For these we must show maximum tact, we must not rush in removing them from our ranks and help them find their place in the current processes of renewal.

The questions of cadre policy are also fundamental for us. We must clearly define our terms. The word "nomenklatura" and the related command-administrative methods for the recruitment and placement of personnel have outlived themselves. But can we solely on these grounds completely abandon any influence on the solving of personnel questions?

We reject primarily the nomenklatura-questionnaire approach to personnel, when a worker is judged by the papers. This serves as a lifesaver for a failed worker. Due to committed errors, he is drowning but according to the nomenklatura he is supposedly offered a new position. Where is the justice here?

Many have become accustomed to such an approach. They feel that it is only right for the nomenklatura to provide them with the right to a position for all their life.

Currently, scores of former leaders are coming to the Central Committee and are categorically demanding "places" for themselves. Some in expecting a certain position have not worked for months, they live off of incomprehensible illusions and feel that the department for party organizational and cadre work is a job placement bureau.

All of this is seen and discussed by the simple people and primarily the nonparty persons. The faulty opinion that any failed worker will be given a "cozy" place by the party committees should be eliminated once and for all.

We must start with this.

But it must be said with all certainty that in the new situation for the party, its committees and organizations not only should not refuse but rather support in every possible way the candidates defending the positions of the communist party in their fight for election to the bodies of Soviet power, state administration and the ideological institutions. Of course, this should be primarily out of political and professional qualities, in helping them in their professional and political growth.

The forming of the party cadres should in the future be carried out according to the recommendations of the primary party organizations with the granting to them of the right to refuse for the party bodies and personnel those who do not justify the high trust.

The abandoning of the issuing of orders, petty interference and unnecessary control should become the general



principle in the interaction between the communist party and its groups with the public organizations.

First of all, there is the question of the trade unions. At present, we must directly admit that during the years the practice of issuing commands to the trade unions as it developed in the party led to a situation where the trade unions were impeded in their actions, they were rigidly confined and, as a result, were unable to fully utilize their rights and opportunities and noticeably fell behind the processes of perestroika.

The trade union organizations, committees and councils have often endeavored to assume a bystander position over fundamental questions of protecting the economic, social and legal interests of the workers. The question arises. Who is being protected from what?

Of course, there must be the protection. Each year, the Uzbek CP Central Committee receives over 20,000 letters and verbal appeals. Over one-third of these is related to labor conflicts, to violations of the principles of social justice in the allocating of housing and material goods, to manifestations of bureaucracy and red tape in satisfying the housing needs of the people. That is, to all those questions where the trade union organizations should show principledness and tenacity and consistently defend the rights of the workers. And the fact that the people, without finding a solution on the spot, have been forced to turn to the party levels directly shows that our trade unions still lack precisely the principledness and tenacity.

At present, the republic trade unions have begun a revision of the organizational principles and structural forms and are getting rid of the formalism and bureaucracy. The Uzbek CP is interested in having the largest public organization in the republic, in manifesting in its activities independence, principledness and creative initiative, actively support perestroika, all the major changes, and firmly and decisively defend the rights and interests of the workers.

New approaches are also essential in work with the youth. The question of the Komsomol for the party is not merely a question of political influence on the masses of youth or the involvement of them in revolutionary renewal, but also a problem of the careful educating of the replacement of the communists and the party's future.

For long years, in exploiting such qualities of the youth as romanticism, a desire for a feat and a readiness to try oneself under difficult conditions, society was not resolving the urgent, vital questions of the young people. As a result, among many of them there was a deep-rooted feeling of a lack of social protection, mistrust of authority, a lack of confidence in tomorrow and growing crime.

To the youth we must tell only the truth as they more than others are fed up with the empty words and demagoguery. Of fundamental importance for us is the

task of instilling in the youth a belief in social justice and that the communists are trying and will resolve the problems of the youth. We must find the informal leaders of the youth, including those not in the Komsomol, we must involve them in political activities and prepare our replacement from them. And most importantly, we must provide them with independence in resolving the pending tasks.

The need has arisen of creating within the new party Central Committee a permanent position or council on working with the republic youth. We must organize similar working bodies in all levels of party committees.

It is very important now to support the social initiatives of the Uzbek Komsomol which is the leading sociopolitical youth organization in the republic and is presently undergoing serious changes and seeking out new forms for its activities. It is important to see in the Komsomol not a subordinate organization but rather equal like-thinkers who have coinciding end goals and ways of achieving them.

I particularly would like to mention the party, war and labor veterans. And not because this is what usually is done in the congress reports. Rather because the Central Committee Bureau considers the veterans to be the cementing link of our party and the entire republic. Because we really are in their debt. Certainly, the colossal difficulties which they endured are in no way compensated for by the pensions received and because of inflation they are becoming less and less. We realize this and we have done everything that we could do proceeding from the current possibilities of the republic. We will endeavor to do more in the future. And I do want to voice kind words. Thank you for the help in raising the youth, for work in the makhalla [district] committees, for the effective word which halted conflicts, for your patience and your support in our undertakings. May I wish you good health and long years of life!

In seeking further democratization of all our life, we should take a new approach to relations with all the social organizations and movements and, in the future, with other parties. We are ready to collaborate with those who defend constructive positions. In recognizing their responsibility, they are seeking and finding difficult but realistic ways out of the crisis. And we must understand and support such persons even when they at times exaggerate or, as they say, head off to the left. We must not clash with them on a narrow plank across an abyss, but rather move together across the bridge of perestroika.

For others the existing difficulties, shortcomings and problems are merely a pretext for demagoguery, political speculation, gloating and the satisfying of ambitions. And for such forces, the more the difficult the situation the better. Siding with them are those who in the past held far from secondary positions. But as soon as the situation changed, as soon as the new trend was victorious which had proven its truth in the difficult struggle,

then many "heroes" and "fighters" with a past crawl out into the light and they try to ride the crest of the new wave. We must disclose and persuasively show the real face of such leaders to the people.

Finally, there is one not very numerous group comprised of those clearly antisocial forces which are endeavoring to block all progress and changes for the better and are endeavoring to increase tension. In destabilizing the situation and in fanning conflicts, they are hoping to break through to power on a wave of chaos and anarchy and seize the commanding heights. We do not have the right to underestimate the danger of this.

They are particularly betting on interethnic problems. The deformations and distortions of the past and the errors of the present are being used to fan feelings of national hostility and confrontation. Here the law should come into force in order to protect the tranquility and security of the population.

In a word, the communist party influences all strata and social groups and all elements of the political system. But not by the force of mere administration and command, as was the case previously, but rather by the force of persuasion, by a clarity of position and by a consolidation of all healthy forces in the cause of renewing our society.

#### VI. In Response to the Spiritual and Moral Health of Society

90US1089E Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
3 Jun 90 pp 2-6

[Political Report of the Central Committee to the 22d Uzbek CP Congress given by the First Secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee and Uzbek President I.A. Karimov: "On the Course and Basic Directions of Perestroika, on the Tasks of Ensuring the Sovereignty and Economic Independence of Uzbekistan, on the Place and Role of the Uzbek CP in the New Political System of the Nation and the Republic." The following text was inadvertently dropped from the article published under the above headline in the 3 August 1990 JPRS Report Soviet Union: Political Affairs, JPRS-UPA-90-047, pages 39-49.]

[Text] Comrades! We are all aware that glasnost is a major achievement of perestroika. However, in the unprepared soil not only do the seeds of democracy sprout rapidly, but frequently the weeds of demagoguery and extremism.

It must be admitted that at present, five years after the beginning of perestroika, we in essence do not have an integrated and ordered concept of ideological activity. There certainly does not seem to be any shortage of speeches by party leaders on the questions of ideology. But, as they say, the more you hear, the less you understand.

In the current, concrete situation, the problems related to interethnic relations require particular attention. The October Revolution established conditions for a truly democratic resolution to the nationality question. At the same time, the deformations and distortions committed during the years of the cult of personality and stagnation had an extremely negative effect upon the sphere of interethnic relations.

Recently, we have become rather embarrassed to speak about the international education of the workers. At present, it not only remains one of the main areas in the work of the communist party but is also assuming the nature of the most urgent problem for our multinational republic. Here the only alternative can be hostility, dissension and hence new victims, refugees and pogroms.

A fundamentally new, qualitative content should be invested in international education. In our understanding this does not come down to lectures or talks, although they are also necessary when they are intelligent and honest. Efforts should be focused chiefly on the prompt disclosure and elimination of the causes of the outbreak of social and interethnic tension.

The attitude toward the Armed Forces is the touchstone on which we test out our understanding of patriotism and internationalism as well as civil duty. The Uzbek CP Central Committee solidly condemns the campaign raised in certain circles aimed at undermining the army's authority at undercutting induction measures as well as attempts to set the people in opposition to the army.

At the same time, we must work hard to eliminate the factors which have caused a negative attitude towards army service. This is a question of a lessening of discipline, improper relations in certain troop units as well as inadmissible facts of the maiming and death of young persons. Here it must be uniformly stated that we cannot permit this and will do everything to protect our children against such disorderly manifestations and violations of the established laws.

Upon the initiative of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, the Uzbek Supreme Soviet has submitted to the Union bodies a number of proposals on altering the procedure for service by our draftees. These questions are currently being resolved. In particular, the question has been settled that the young men inducted into the construction units will serve on the territory of the Turkestan Military District. The induction commissions are to include Uzbek people's deputies and deputies from the local soviets, and stronger control is to be exercised by the republic community over the conditions of military service for inductees from Uzbekistan in all combat units.

At the same time, the party committees, the state bodies and the Komsomol organizations in the republic must fundamentally revise their work in preparing the youth for military service. This has been and remains our most important patriotic and international duty.

Crime has a destabilizing effect on the moral and political situation and this has been growing catastrophically. In comparison with 1985, the crime rate has increased by almost 20 percent, and significantly more for major crimes. The law enforcement bodies, having put the chief accent on official violations and this created cheap advertising for their former leaders, for an extended time left criminal activity in the shadows.

In taking emergency measures to strengthen the fight against crime, the Uzbek CP Central Committee considers it essential to disclose and eliminate the socioeconomic and moral-political factors and roots which have given rise to the negative phenomena impelling people, particularly the youth, onto a path of illegal actions.

In speaking about this, we cannot help but draw attention to the products of our mass culture, where a cult of idle living, violence and sex reign. The people are correctly indignant over the facts of the brazen, scoffing demonstration of immorality and are demanding that they be protected against what undermines the bases of the age-old traditions and the people's understanding of decency, honor and dignity. We cannot help but consider this. Decisive measures must be taken, including legislative ones, to protect our people who have remarkable cultural traditions against this moral degradation and aggressive vulgarity.

The physical plant of culture cannot help but cause feelings of bitterness and shame. How can a society produce a person of high inner culture if it spends on this literally pennies in comparison with other aspects of life? And culture is particularly impoverished where it is particularly needed, that is, on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the plants and factories and the institutions of learning. Our working class, the peasantry and youth are literally living on cultural starvation rations.

At present, in self-critically assessing the path traveled, we must honestly admit that we have given unforgivably little attention to the problems of culture. Many elevated words about its role in the spiritual development of society have resounded in the speeches and reports. But in fact, in carrying out specific tasks such as the construction of theaters and movie houses, the restoration of beautiful architectural masterpieces handed down to us from our great ancestors, improving book publishing, developing folk art, we, alas, have done little to realize our own noble appeals and slogans. In squandering millions on erecting dubious projects and administrative buildings, we have shirked and saved funds for the construction of clubs, libraries, athletic facilities so essential for the spiritual and physical development of the people.

Our literature has suffered greatly from the Zhdanov-Suslov "theoretical" provisions on the role of art in our life. In tirelessly repeating the first part of the well-known thesis of Lenin about the party nature of literature, our "theorists" often "forgot" the second part of Lenin's thesis that literature is a delicate matter and that

it must not be subjected to naked administrative fiat and command. These anti-Leninist theoretical postulates were to bear their bitter fruit and the search for enemies began also in Uzbekistan. Stunned were the outstanding leaders of our culture such as Aybek, Kakhkhar, Mirtemir, Turab Tula and individuals such as Sheykhzade, Mirzakalon Ismaili, Shukhrat, Shukrullo, Said Akhmad and others spent many years of their lives in prisons and camps. The outstanding sons of the Uzbek people Abdulla Kadyri, Chulpan, Firat, Usman Nasyr, Elbek Batu and scores of others of the vivid stars of our literature were subjected to the cruelest persecution.

At present, in the period of glasnost and perestroika, we must also admit that we have been too prejudiced toward our historical past, in assessing the creative activities of the outstanding scientists and poets of the distant past not considering the realities of that age in which they lived and worked but rather proceeding from vulgar interpretations of modern times.

In the not distant past, a narrow-class approach was also characteristic, for example, of the assessment of the classic of Uzbek literature Babur. The national and common human importance of his creativity was completely rejected. At the Third Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee in 1986, insulting words were addressed to Babur as some "enlightened" tyrant.

We feel that our people welcomed enthusiastically the decree of the Central Committee and the republic government to hold jubilees of Navoi, Alifbek, Babur, Mashrab, Furkat, Kadyri and other great sons of our people. Their heritage has served and will serve the spiritual development and enrichment of the peoples of Uzbekistan as well as common human values. We will do everything necessary to bring their priceless heritage to our people and primarily to the youth.

At present, the party highly regards the honest and just word of the cultural and artistic leaders. But much must be done so that this more quickly reaches the hearts and minds of the people.

We hold one of the last places in terms of the publishing of books for children and youth. This is due to the lag in the printing industry. For decades we have been speaking about the shortcomings in publishing matters and the weaknesses of the printing facilities but, as they say, things aren't moving. It is high time for the republic Gosplan and the Goskompechat [State Committee for Press] to become closely involved with this matter as the solution to it will determine the spiritual development of the nation.

We are also right to expect shifts in the work of our cinematographers. There have only been a few good, artistically valid pictures which were warmly received by the viewers.

Just look around and see to what a level our teachers have been reduced, the largest group of intelligentsia and

in whose hands are our children, a third of the republic's population and its future. And what about the library, club and museum workers?

In the prewar years, up to one-half the republic budget went for educational needs and now, when we have become much richer, there is significantly less.

Irreparable political and moral harm is caused by those inadmissible facts when before the eyes of the people and the younger generation, the remarkable monuments of history and culture fall into disuse.

At present, the rebirth of national culture with its spiritual and moral values should be put forward as one of the main ideological problems for the Communist Party.

Great work remains to be done to broaden the sphere of the use of the Uzbek language as the official one. Here much is still unresolved and the planned program is being slowly implemented. All of this must be overcome and at the same time observing balance, delicacy and tact on these questions. At the same time, we must fundamentally improve the question of the mastery of Russian as the language of international contact and create conditions for satisfying the linguistic, the national-cultural needs of all the nations and nationalities residing in Uzbekistan.

In this, it can be said without exaggeration, enormous undertaking of the moral improvement of the people, the basic and decisive role will be played by our intelligentsia. Its words resound strongly in the hearts and minds of the people. In the current complex, contradictory situation fraught with problems and conflicts, the balanced stance of the intelligentsia is the most important condition for maintaining the humane, moral standards in relations between individuals and the peoples.

We are placing great hopes on the scientists of the republic Academy of Science. Above all because we see the main if not the sole way out of the state of crisis in the republic precisely in the help from science, in scientific-technical progress and in new ideas and discoveries. We could criticize our scientists and this has even become a tradition, but I want to support them because I am convinced, particularly after our recent meetings, that the republic has many intelligent scientists, there have been concrete accomplishments and there is an understanding of responsibility to the people. There must be more energy and creativity, there must be support for the young scientists and I am convinced that there will be good results and we have provided and will provide them with aid.

In supporting in every possible way initiative and boldness in raising the problems of social development, the Central Committee will also raise the responsibility of the journalists who are party members and fight against one-sidedness, tendentious approaches, falsification and claims of independence from moral standards and for truth in the last instance.

A special word about our relations with the central press. These have developed far from uniformly. We have spoken previously about the distorting of facts in a number of materials and about their unconcealed tendentiousness. It has turned out that when we are sullied this is seen as a manifestation of glasnost and democracy. But when we express our disagreement with the one-sided treatment of important problems in the life of Uzbekistan, this, as a rule, is perceived as encroachment against the principles of glasnost.

We do not intend to limit the journalists. Let them write, let them criticize, but without forgetting about objectivity and tact and that real glasnost can be established only where the voices of both sides are heard. When only one side is made public and there is one cock-and-bull story after another, in misleading the millions of the national audience, here there can be no question of pluralism.

We should look more exactly at the structure of the periodicals, we should democratize this and open up a number of new newspapers and magazines. The necessity has arisen also of reexamining the procedure of relations with the central mass information media under conditions of the accrediting of their correspondents in the republic.

We should also take a new look at the role of social sciences. For a long time, social sciences have defended dogmatic notions about socialism, with policy and ideology dragging behind. There is a very great need for a profound scientific analysis of the processes occurring in the nation and the republic. We as yet have no analysis of the patterns of social life under the conditions of a multiparty system. The social scientists have not formulated notions about the economic and social contradictions under the conditions of a mixed economy and the transition to a controlled market economy. There must be a profound analysis of the problems of the development of nations and interethnic relations, the political sovereignty and economic independence of the republic, the forming of the national detachment of the working class and many others.

Unfortunately, in recent years we have not been receiving the necessary supply of ideas and general concepts from the Party History Institute under the Central Committee. We feel that the time has come to substantially reorganize it, possibly, into the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems.

The scientific work and the instruction of the party and soviet activity at the Tashkent Higher Party School must rise to a new qualitative level. Here also fundamental changes have long been imperative.

We should also approach the questions of freedom of conscience with new ideas. In denouncing violent methods of countering religion and voluntarism, the Communist Party favors the complete restoration of the Leninist principles of relations between state and church. In defending our fundamental positions, we are



in favor of the further development of collaboration between atheists and believers, the party and soviet bodies and the religious associations for the good of man, against social impatience, ethnic hostility and infringement of the interests of the citizens. In a word, everything healthy should work for the sake of the interests of the people, the specific man, the humanistic and democratic principles in the life of our society.

### VII. On Democracy and Party Unity

VOUSI089F Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
5 Jun 90 pp 2-6

[Political Report of the Central Committee to the 22d Uzbek CP Congress given by the First Secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee and Uzbek President I.A. Karimov: "On the Course and Basic Directions of Perestroika, on the Tasks of Ensuring the Sovereignty and Economic Independence of Uzbekistan, on the Place and Role of the Uzbek CP in the New Political System of the Nation and the Republic." The following text was inadvertently dropped from the article published under the above headline in the 3 August 1990 JPRS Report Soviet Union: Political Affairs, JPRS-UPA-90-047, pages 39-49.]

[Text] Our Congress completes the report-election campaign in the Uzbek CP. This has been marked by a noticeably increased level in the political self-awareness of the party masses. How has this been manifested?

First of all, there is a desire to assess soberly the current sociopolitical situation. Without closing our eyes to the real danger of the growing crisis, destructive phenomena. This is an awareness of our responsibility for the fate of the republic and our duty to its people. This means a constant search for the ways and means to escape from the problems. Most importantly it is an understanding that it is impossible to resolve the accumulated, extremely acute and complex problems without a profound renewal of the party itself, its policy, the forms and methods of its activities.

The Uzbekistan communists have approached a discussion of the pre-congress drafts of the CPSU Central Committee Platform and Party Bylaws precisely through the prism of these questions which concern all of us. With all the differences of opinions and judgments, they were unanimous on one thing, not only the authority of the party but also the fate of the entire nation will depend upon those political decisions taken by the forthcoming 28th CPSU Congress.

As a whole, these very important political documents have caused a positive response in the republic Communist Party. In the critical approach to analyzing the path taken by the party, its role and place in society, the communists see a determination to deepen perestroika and increase the revolutionary changes. Understanding and support have been given to a revising of the ideological and theoretical concepts and the abandoning of dogmatic views concerning socialism. As a whole, there has been approval for the planned turn in party policy

toward man and toward providing him with worthy conditions of life and labor.

Proposals of the pre-congress documents have been supported aimed at developing internal party democracy and true party comradeship.

These have not only been supported but also widely applied in practice. With the direct involvement of the primary party organizations, delegates have been elected to the 28th CPSU Congress and the 22d Uzbek CP Congress. The promoting by the communists in the course of their reports and elections of their own representatives to the superior party bodies have become no longer particular experiments but rather an universal norm. Many secretaries of the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and of the primary organizations have been directly elected by the delegates of the conferences and the participants of meetings on an alternative basis.

The communists have taken a broad part not only in the discussion but also in the elaboration of political documents which have been submitted for their review, including the documents of our congress.

As a whole, the previous reports and elections convince one of the validity of this path. We must ensure the further development of the first and still timid steps in the direction of democratizing our party life.

The democratizing of all party life is inseparably linked to the strengthening of party unity. This is particularly important under the conditions of a multiparty system.

We cannot help but see what active attacks are being made against the fundamental principle of party construction, the principle of democratic centralism. It has been proposed that this be completely removed from the party Bylaws and replaced by provisions about "democratic unity" or "consensus," that is, to open the way to the forming of independent factions in the party.

Under these conditions, we cannot agree that in the draft Bylaws the concept of democratic centralism be diluted. The communists of Uzbekistan are clearly in favor of maintaining and further improving the principle of democratic centralism. The principle which under Lenin was the guarantee for the power of the party masses and party equality. And which, of course, has nothing in common with the dictatorship of the superior echelons which actually exists in the party or with bureaucratic centralism.

Party unity is primarily a union of like-thinkers united by common goals and defending the same ideological positions. The basis for such solidarity should be that program document which is to be adopted at the 28th Congress from the results of the all-party discussion of the draft of the CPSU Central Committee Platform "Toward Humane Democratic Socialism."

The Central Committee Platform has played a definite role as a document for pre-congress discussion. Opinions have been voiced in the press that at the congress we should restrict ourselves to transforming this document into a program of concrete actions.

We are convinced that this is clearly insufficient. The document which will be presented for the discussion by the congress should consist of two fundamental parts.

The first would include the answers to the fundamentally posed questions which concern many communists and nonparty persons: what sort of society are we building, to what are we challenging the people, whose interests are reflected by the Communist Party, what is its social base, our attitude toward various forms of ownership and to other social and political formations, to parties, our views of the events occurring in Europe and so forth.

The second part should be a program of concrete actions and ways for emerging from the economic and political crisis, the solving of the problems of interethnic relations, the democratization of the party, the questions of strengthening the independence of the Union republic communist parties and so forth.

On the one hand, we must have our say on the general theoretical and fundamental questions, and on the other, they expect from us concrete proposals and a program of specific actions.

We understand that the party and all our society, like the very air we breathe, needs a consolidating of the forces standing on positions of perestroika. Otherwise, it will simply bog down, it will be torn apart and pulled to pieces in the ardor of group struggle which would not exclude direct civilian clashes. For this reason with all our heart, we favor union, unity in the party.

But it must be unity on a healthy, principled base. We will never agree to turning the party into some parliamentary club which does not have a unity of will and actions, which is rent by the struggle of factions, and deprived of support in the form of the primary party organizations in the labor collectives of the enterprises, the organizations, the farms, the law enforcement bodies and the army.

This is no longer unity but rather a complete collapse. And if destructive and liquidator attitudes gain the upper hand at the 28th Congress, then we keep for ourselves the right to hold upon its results yet another session of our republic party forum and adopt at it our own program and bylaws documents. Ultimately, each Communist Party bears political responsibility primarily to its own people and independently defines its positions on all fundamental problems.

But this does not mean that we can wait to see how it all comes out. Some 162 delegates have been elected from the Uzbek CP to the CPSU Congress. And we turn to them with a party command. Take the stance worked out by our congress and approved by the republic communists and defend it on all major questions.

...

Comrade delegates! I conclude my report. As you yourselves are aware, the tasks which we must carry out are not easy ones. There are and will be serious difficulties on our path.

But I am also profoundly convinced that all the problems which we will point out and which we will solve are within the capacity of the republic party organization.

The dependable path to achieving the goals confronting us is labor and yet again labor, inspired, able and well organized. Man for society and society for man. This should become the law of our life and the fundamental condition for the well-being of each family and each inhabitant of our republic.

We firmly defend the view that democracy and perestroika are incompatible either with barracks-bureaucratic orders or anarchistic license in the attitude toward socialist principles, standards and laws. Here at the Congress, we should work out a program of actions which would reflect the most urgent, the most vital interests of the republic workers.

There is one other important circumstance which I must mention. I have in mind the ideals of internationalism and the friendship of the Soviet peoples. We should be firmly aware that any tasks are within our ability only when all of us, the workers of the republic, and independently of our nation and nationality, will work closely and in union, as a single family on solving the problems of Uzbekistan. Uzbekistan is a multinational republic. Here since time immemorial scores upon scores of nationalities have lived and worked side by side. The friendship of the republic workers has been tested in the flames of revolution, in the crucible of the five-year plans and in the terrible years of the Great Patriotic War.

The entire world is aware that the Uzbek people have always—in misfortune and in joy—shown particular respect for other nations and nationalities and has held sacred fraternity and friendship among the nation's peoples. These, comrades, are values which we should hold sacred and for which we should fight.

In the future we must strengthen the unity of the Soviet people, all the nations and nationalities, and establish a moral-political atmosphere which would contribute to good and close work. We must see to it that this atmosphere between the people is clear and pure, good and tolerant.

It is worth struggling for the sake of this. And only the party of communists can assume this mission.

Comrade delegates! You represent all elements of the republic party organization. You represent all spheres of the republic economy and social life. You represent all generations of the Soviet people. All of this makes it possible to discuss the raised questions broadly and soundly, to define the political guidelines clearly, and to find solutions which to the greatest degree meet the interests of the people.

The republic communists not in words but rather in deed should clearly define the goals which the republic has set for itself as well as the ways which we will follow. All of us, and there is no doubt about this, have enough energy, political willpower and responsibility to the people to bring about an improvement in the life of all the republic workers and ensure further advance of Uzbekistan along the path of progress.

The republic party organization sees in this its main purpose and its duty to the people.

### December Session of 22nd Uzbek Communist Party Congress

#### Information Report for 7 December

91US0237A Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
8 Dec 90 p 1

#### [Text] Information Report on the Second Stage of the 22nd Congress of the Uzbek Communist Party

The second stage of the 22nd Uzbek Communist Party Congress opened on 7 December 1990 in Tashkent.

The session was opened by I.A. Karimov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Uzbek SSR.

The delegates ratified the credentials of the leading organs of the congress, which were elected during the first stage of its proceedings, and increased the presidium's membership.

The agenda for the second stage of the congress was approved, as follows:

1. Action Program of the Uzbek Communist Party: "On Political and Economic Sovereignty, Spiritual Renewal, Social Justice and Worthy Living Conditions of the Uzbek Population."

2. Bylaws of the Uzbek Communist Party.

A report on the approved items on the agenda was submitted by I.A. Karimov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, and president of the Uzbek SSR.

The following participated in the debates. Comrades S.M. Mamarasulov, Tashkent Party Obkom first secretary; Z. Pirnazarov, lessee, Madaniyat Sovkhoz, Karauzyakskiy Rayon, Karakalpak ASSR; and M.I. Iskanderov, rector, Political Science and Management Institute.

The delegates approved granting the status of commission of the 22nd Uzbek Communist Party Congress to the working commissions set up at the Second Central Committee Plenum, charged with formulating the draft programs for action and bylaws of the Uzbek Communist Party.

The following spoke in the debates which followed: Comrades A.G. Shabanova, electrical installation worker, Locomotives Repair Plant imeni Otkryabskaya Revolyutsiya; S.Kh. Muradova, brigade leader, Kolkhoz imeni XII Partysyerda, Guzaraskiy Rayon, Kashka-Darya Oblast; B.A. Allamuradov, chairman of the Council of the Federation of Uzbek SSR Trade Unions; K. Allahbergenov, brigade leader, Bagat Sovkhoz, Bagataskiy Rayon, Khorezm Oblast; K. Kholmurzayev, first secretary, Andizhan Party Obkom, Kh. Khudayberdiyeva, editor-in-chief, journal SAODAT, A.I. Faryzbekov, first secretary, Tashkent City Party Committee; N.Ye. Velichkina, cutter, Samarkand Knitwear Factory; E.T. Shaykhov, rector, Tashkent Agricultural Institute; K. Raimzhanov, first secretary, Uchkurganskii CPSU Raykom, Namangan Oblast; O.E. Ventland, first secretary, Zarafshan City Party Committee, Bukhara Oblast; V.Kh. Saliyev, locomotive engineer, locomotive depot, Termez Railroad Station, Surkhan-Darya Oblast; M.A. Ibadullayev, first secretary, Syrdarinskii CPSU Raykom, Sh.A. Alimov, Uzbek SSR Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education; L. Kayumov, department head, Tashkent State University imeni V.I. Lenin; A.S. Shodiyev, principal, School imeni U. Yusupov, Navahorskiy Rayon, Bukhara Oblast; A.S. Abdullayev, brigade leader, Kolkhoz imeni Engels, Leningradskiy Rayon, Fergana Oblast; N. Mukhtarova, teacher, Secondary School No. 1, Bakhmaliskiy Rayon, Dzhirgatalik Oblast; N. Khatamov, brigade leader, SU-5, Construction Trust No. 162, Andizhan; R.A. Safayev, flight engineer, Tashkent Flight Complex; and D. Orzuyev, party committee secretary, Sovkhoz 50 Let SSSR, Samarkandskiy Rayon.

A report on the events which took place in Namangan was presented by Comrade M.I. Ibragimov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

The congress was addressed by Comrade G.I. Yanayev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee secretary.

This marked the end of the proceedings of the first day of the second stage of the congress. The preparation commissions considered and summed up the remarks and motions expressed by the delegates on the various drafts of the Action Program and Uzbek Communist Party bylaws.

Participating in the work were G. Turganova, member of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat, and N.I. Semenov, head of sector, CPSU Central Committee Organizational Department.

The congress is continuing its work.

#### Karimov Address on Economy, Union Treaty, Party Future

91US0237B Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
8 Dec 90 pp 1-2

[Text] Dear comrades:

No more than six months have passed since the completion of the first stage of the 22nd Congress of the Uzbek Communist Party. Today we can say with full confidence that, as a whole, life confirmed the accuracy of its evaluations and its collectively drafted political line.

The congress rallied the Uzbek party organization, gave dynamism to its work and created the necessary prerequisites for normalizing the sociopolitical situation in the republic. The people have become calmer and more tolerant of each other. Confidence in the future is reviving.

The understanding that democracy is incompatible with anarchy and with total permissiveness and as glasnost is with government by meetings and extremism, and pluralism with lack of discipline and slackness is increasingly strengthening in the social awareness.

A firm policy is being pursued of consolidating all healthy forces of society. The initial steps have been taken to implement the specific stipulations of the congress in terms of achieving political and economic sovereignty of the republic, strengthening the autonomy of organizational structures and discipline and order on all management levels.

The steps taken by the president, the government and the local soviets, aimed at helping the socially vulnerable population strata, had a decisive stabilizing significance. It is a question, above all, of aid to veterans and the disabled, to mothers of several children, and to teachers and students. Life proved the timeliness and relevance of the steps taken to give land to the republic's population and to help it in acquiring cattle and feeds and marketing its goods.

Thanks to these and other steps, we were able to lay a base for the stable functioning of the republic's national economy. Unlike many areas and the country as a whole, production has continued to increase.

In the period under consideration, the generated national income increased by 2.5 percent. Industrial production rose by 2.2 percent. A substantial increase in the production of consumer goods, totaling 7.2 percent, and a 19 percent increase in housing construction took place.

Farmers had a good harvest from virtually all crops. More efficiently than ever before over 5 million tons of cotton were procured, which is 225,000 tons above the plan. This is an important political victory achieved by all working people in our republic and, above all, by our farmers.

I profit from this opportunity to express, again and again, the gratitude felt by our hard working people to the workers in the countryside, our respected cotton growers, for their valorous labor.

The organizing and mobilizing role of the primary party organizations and all party members in Uzbekistan deserve a great deal of credit for these features of perestroika and thus prove their growing reputation.

Briefly, from the positions of the present, we can say with full justification that the resolutions of the 22nd Congress of the Uzbek Communist Party are making a real contribution to the consolidation and stabilization of the sociopolitical situation and to solving the pressing current and future problems of our society.

# I

The delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress, elected by the republic's Communist Party, defined their positions on the most important problems of party activities. During the first stage of our congress, they were given the instruction of preserving party unity, preventing a split and defending our views on the key problems of the development of the party and the country.

All 162 delegates and 10 invited delegates actively worked in the sessions, the working organs, commissions and sections of the congress. Their active stance was reflected in many of the adopted party documents.

The main objective in the activities of our delegations was the aspiration to achieve the independence of the communist parties of Union republics, including the Uzbek Communist Party. Defending at the CPSU Congress our views on the Aral and the Aral area, which are in a state of ecological catastrophe, involved great efforts.

Problems of eliminating the cotton monopoly, equalizing starting conditions in developing market relations, and accelerating the drafting of a Union treaty were energetically raised. Also effective was the principled position held by our delegation on matters of establishing equal and just economic relations with the center. To us this is manifested in having substantiated purchase prices of agricultural commodities, of cotton above all.

We were able to achieve suitable representation of the Uzbek Communist Party in the central organs of the CPSU. Nineteen representatives of Uzbekistan were elected Central Committee members, and 12 were elected members of the Central Auditing Commission, or a total of 31 people. We now have one representative each in the Politburo, the Secretariat and the Presidium of the Central Auditing Commission.

Let me remind you that at the last congress 13 people had been elected members of the central party organs and that at the end of the period under consideration the Uzbek Communist Party was being represented by a single party member.

This confirms that our party views are now being taken into consideration and that the reputation of the republic party organization throughout the country has increased.

The results of the 28th CPSU Congress were discussed at the Second Central Committee Plenum. Along with the



results achieved at the 28th Congress, the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee emphasized, as you know, that the CPSU Congress failed to provide clear and full answers to a number of questions which were raised at the republic party forum.

Let me mention the questions which were not satisfactorily answered with the resolutions of the CPSU Congress:

Problems of interethnic relations;

Problems of a Union treaty;

Interactions between the party and the soviets;

Relations between the party and the various public organizations and movements;

Youth policy;

Attitude toward women and their status in society;

Problems of conversion to the market;

Development of the areas of culture, health care, education and way of life and all that is related to the people's life support;

Taking into consideration the specific nature and interests of Central Asian republics in the party's agrarian policy;

Evaluation of the worsening catastrophe of the Aral, the situation in Karakalpakiya and in the Aral Zone and a number of other important matters.

In discussing these problems at the Central Committee Plenum, we did not criticize for the sake of criticizing. Nor should we have expected of the CPSU Congress universal prescriptions which would be identically applicable to all areas.

At the first congress we reached the conclusion that, in the final account, the Communist Party itself is accountable to its own people and must independently define its positions on all essential problems.

That is precisely why at the Second Central Committee Plenum, based on the resolutions of the 22nd Congress on the right to hold yet another session, the plenum decided on a second stage, to discuss two items: the Action Program and the Uzbek Communist Party bylaws. It defined the main content of these documents.

The preparation commissions included social scientists and representatives of the creative intelligentsia, and the entire intellectual potential at the disposal of the Uzbek Communist Party. Many members of the republic's aktiv participated in the drafting of these documents.

Allow me now to discuss briefly the basic features of these documents.

## II

Let me begin first with the draft Uzbek Communist Party bylaws. Why is this a topic for discussion?

What does it mean in practical terms?

It means, above all, that at the present stage the Uzbek Communist Party can no longer remain simply a territorial organization of the CPSU. It was from the viewpoint of formulating and approving our own bylaws that, from the very beginning, we have considered the development of the general party concept of the autonomy of communist parties of Union republics.

Furthermore, a new situation developed in connection with the law on Public Associations, which was passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet. In accordance with this document, bylaws are a necessary prerequisite for granting a political party the right to exist; these bylaws define the basic principles and standards of the party's internal life and activities in society.

Let me immediately make something clear. There are no grounds whatsoever to consider the Uzbek Communist Party bylaws as some kind of counterbalance to the CPSU bylaws. The starting principle for us was the drafting of a document for practical action, based on the essential stipulations of the 28th CPSU Congress, and on the specific conditions and characteristics of the republic.

What are the main features of the Uzbek Communist Party bylaws we are submitting?

First, as was already pointed out, it develops the concept of the autonomy of the republic's Communist Party. These stipulations, formulated in the respective parts of the draft bylaws, became a natural supplement to the CPSU bylaws.

Second, our bylaws must take maximally into consideration the specifics of the republic and the specific conditions in which the Uzbek Communist Party operates.

For that reason, the preamble to the bylaws reflects the positions consistent with the new understanding of the place of the republic within the Union Federation, and its political and economic sovereignty as means of ensuring social justice and providing suitable living conditions to all nationalities and ethnic groups inhabiting Uzbekistan and their spiritual renovation.

In this connection, the stipulation that the Uzbek Communist Party is aspiring to defend the interests of the working people in the republic, regardless of their ethnic affiliation and religious beliefs, is of major political significance. It is prepared to interact with all progressive forces in society and maintain equal partnership with sociopolitical organizations which defend universal human values expressing the interests of the working people.

One of the characteristic features of the Communist Party is also the fact that more than one-half of its organizations are small, numbering under 15 CPSU members. This predetermined the need for a clearer presentation in the section dealing with the **primary organizations** of standards which regulate the procedure for the forming and principles governing the activities of the elected organs of the basic unit of the republic's Communist Party.

Taking these features into consideration, the section on the **funds and property of the Uzbek Communist Party** proposes legal mechanisms which would enable us to make most efficient use of the funds received from party membership dues by centralizing within the city and rayon organizations the funds of primary party organizations.

Third, we are not satisfied with the lack of clarity and with the vagueness of a number of stipulations in the all-party bylaws. Therefore, for a number of items we have provided clearer and more specific formulations.

What does this apply to?

The positions of the Communist Party in matters of the development of internal party democracy and the importance of the **principle of democratic centralism** were clearly defined during the first stage of our congress.

The party members in the republic opposed the deletion of this principle from the party bylaws. They considered inadmissible for its cleansing from bureaucratic distortions to result in a dilution of its basic standards. Correspondingly, the section on **intraparty democracy** in our draft bylaws was strengthened with stipulations on the content and nature of the contemporary understanding of the principle of democratic centralism as a necessary prerequisite for the organizational and political strengthening of party ranks.

Taking into consideration the different viewpoints and specific nature of activities of the republic's party organizations, the statutory norms related to **party membership** were concretized and expanded.

From the viewpoint of the mechanism of its implementation, the right of gorkom and raykom party bureaus to express motivated disagreement with a resolution of the **primary party organization concerning the granting of party membership** and to send it back for revision, is of essential importance. These concepts do not harm the autonomy of the primary organizations which, in this case as well, retain the right to a final answer to questions related to party membership.

The demand to retain the existing procedure for party membership of previous party members who had been expelled for violating the statutory norms or had voluntarily dropped out is also aimed at the strengthening of party ranks. As a whole, the communists share the

viewpoint that the approach to reinstating the party membership of such people should be stricter and more principle-minded.

Upgrading the role and autonomy of the primary party organizations and legally codifying their rights and prerogatives as the **foundations of the party** are the basic principles in the section on the **organizational structure** of the republic's Communist Party and the corresponding section in the new CPSU bylaws. At the same time, this section has been substantially expanded with a view to filling the gaps in the general party bylaws which **define the rights of rayon and city party organizations as support units of the republic's Communist Party**. For the first time, the status of the Karakalpak Republic Party Organization has been formulated.

Substantial clarifications have been made in the statutory regulations on the **activities of party members in the soviets and the elected organs of public organizations**. They proceed from the specific practice of new relations with the soviets and stipulate the obligation of deputies who are party members to observe party discipline and be guided in their political activities by the resolutions of party congresses and conferences and plenums of respective party committees.

Fourth, we deemed necessary to supplement our bylaws, compared to those of the CPSU, with some new views and sections which are not to be found in the general party document. Great attention was paid to the **principles of party comradeship**, which ensure to every party member political support of his activities and the protection of his honor and dignity. This is important today, when anticommunism and oppression of party members have become rampant in many parts of the country.

We note with great satisfaction the major painstaking educational work done by our veterans. However difficult and complex the events and trials which our republic may have experienced, particularly in recent years, our elder brothers and sisters, with their great practical and party experience, have always found the firm and reliable support of the party organs and organizations. In expressing our gratitude to them and recognition, we firmly believe that a strong life stance and the wisdom developed in the course of the years in our elder comrades will not let us down in the future as well.

That is precisely why the statutory concepts on the procedure for releasing a party member for reasons of state of health or age from regular work and from paying party membership dues, have been expanded. It has been suggested, in such cases, to strengthen the obligation of the party organizations, to be in constant touch with such party members.

Additional statutory stipulations have been included, which regulate the procedure for the establishment of the **control organs** of the Uzbek Communist Party, and setting the principles governing their activities. In accordance with the stipulations of the CPSU bylaws, such organs will be known as **control commissions**.

In our view, the bylaws must grant the party committees the right to disband factional structures. This is a necessary refinement of the general party statutory regulation on the inadmissibility of factional activities within the party.

Finally, a number of additional statutory regulations have been introduced in accordance with the adoption of the law on public associations. They deal with problems of the location of the central Communist Party organs, the procedure for terminating party activities, and the co-ownership of property, jointly with the CPSU, as being common party property.

Now, comrades, let me say a few words on the **Action Program**. What created the need to draft and adopt this document?

**First** We proceed from the real situation. Today we have no new CPSU program and the process of drafting it will be difficult and lengthy. We cannot wait until it has been completed. Time is urging us, it demands energetic action. This must always be born in mind, for the moment we fall behind the demands of life we find ourselves at the tail end of events.

The programmatic declaration of the 28th Party Congress "toward a humane democratic socialism" gives us no more than generalized assessments of the present condition of the society and determines only the basic trends of overall party policy. These general concepts must be "brought down to earth," and applied to actual matters. We must define problems which demand priority attention.

**Second.** We must clearly realize that even an ideal CPSU program cannot take into consideration the entire variety, the wide range of specific features and specific socioeconomic conditions of individual republics in which their communist parties function.

Hence, **third.** We are now an independent Communist Party and are personally accountable to our people. Under the conditions of a multiparty system, we simply have no right to fail to adopt our own programmatic document as a foundation for attracting people over on our side and within our ranks.

In other words, if the party members realize their leading role and assume responsibility as the ruling party for the solution of the pressing problems, every resident of the republic will have the right to expect of our program clear and convincing answers to problems affecting him.

**Fourth.** We must define our programmatic objectives and tasks, relying above all on the comprehensive consideration of the republic's socioeconomic, historical and demographic features and proceeding from the need for a critical reinterpretation of the distance covered by the republic. In acknowledging that in terms of socioeconomic development we are behind other areas, we must define the reasons for this lag.

**Fifth.** We live in Central Asia where, by virtue of historical developments, a peculiar tangle of problems and contradictions has been created and a deployment of sociopolitical forces different from other parts of the country has taken place. This problem cannot be ignored. We cannot allow confrontation on the grounds of political struggle and must find a way to consolidate society and secure civil peace and national consensus.

Today religion is beginning to play an increasingly noticeable role in the republic's sociopolitical life. This circumstance must not be approached simplistically.

The revision of our views concerning religion and believers dictates the need for a search of points of contact and, in many matters, of cooperation between communists and supporters of all religious trends. This particularly applies in matters of the moral improvement of society and philanthropic work as well as of having peace and consensus among people. At the same time, we firmly condemn any efforts at using the religious feelings of believers for antisocial and antigovernmental purposes.

**Sixth.** Our republic has a traditional way of life. Large families in this republic are much more numerous than in other parts of the country. This means that there is a high share of young people who have their own specific social problems. No one will understand and support us if the Action Program is not literally imbued with concern for the family and for our future generations. A special topic in our program is the **situation of women**. Our specific objective is to free women from hard work and to ensure a proper place in society and respect for them. This is not merely a declaration.

We set ourselves the task, as we acquire funds, in the future to see to it that mothers have a reduced workday and a shorter work week and have additional time to care for their children. In the countryside, all women must be granted a guaranteed day of rest.

I am aware of the difficulty of solving this problem in agriculture. I am confident that not one man among those sitting in this hall would refuse to work more in the fields and livestock farms so that his mother, wife, sister or daughter would dedicate at least 1 day a week to taking care of her own needs and to the education of the children and the creation of a comfortable home.

Equally important to us are **youth problems**. We must guarantee the social protection and equal opportunities of all groups of young people in the areas of schooling, work, professional growth and organization of daily life.

The study of the economic progress made in a large number of countries indicates that successful economic changes have been, to a great extent, owed to the young intellectual nucleus of the nation which has been given first-rate education, including in the major world scientific and training centers. I am convinced that this experience could be quite instructive in our case as well. That is why our position is that without the effective and

faster development of the intellectual potential of the republic and the organization of an efficient system for the training of young skilled cadres its true blossoming would be assured.

Problems of the creation for any person living in Uzbekistan of the necessary conditions for his harmonious development and moral and cultural growth play the most important and greatest role in the Action Program. All of us in this hall are united in the belief that we must do everything possible so that future generations may live better than we do. We must protect them from the adverse impact of the ecological tragedy in the area of the Aral Sea. We must provide conditions for protecting the health and raising the future generations and ensuring their access to the peaks of human civilization.

Finally, all party members must firmly defend the principles of our policy and the decisions made, aimed at ensuring the vital needs of the people, of every individual. No one should have any doubts on this subject.

Such are the main premises on the basis of which we are formulating our Action Program. The program also indicates the specific ways for their implementation and the main guidelines and answers to all the topical problems of the present and the future.

### III

The submission of the Action Program and Uzbek Communist Party bylaws for consideration by the congress were preceded by their comprehensive discussion by the republic's party organizations and in the press. More than 2,000 suggestions on the draft bylaws and approximately as many on the Action Program were directed by the republic's party members to the Central Committee, the drafting commissions and the local party committees and press organs.

All constructive suggestions, refinements and remarks which were received were studied by the drafting commissions and considered at the Central Committee Plenum. A great deal was incorporated in the suggestions drafted by the commissions and issued to the congress delegates. Now we must consult on a number of suggestions.

Allow me to mention a few of them.

Above all, those dealing with the **Action Program**.

In my view, the party members accurately draw our attention to the fact that with the very first suggestions concerning the programmatic document we must clearly stipulate that the main programmatic objective of the Communist Party is its concern for the individual, and that the republic's party members consider as the highest meaning of their activities providing the type of conditions in which each family and individual working person will live in a state of prosperity, peace and sufficiency.

Also worthy of attention are wishes to stipulate in the Action Program that the party members consider view it as officially submitted to the Soviet authorities in defining priorities in the formulation of a socioeconomic and national-cultural policy on the state level.

In accordance with the received remarks, the Central Committee is submitting for your consideration a number of specifications on matters related to the principles governing the interaction between the party and the soviets of people's deputies and public organizations and movements, to youth policy and to the status of women in society.

A number of views have been expressed, although indirectly related to the Action Program, on the expediency of combining the position of first secretary of party committee and chairman of corresponding soviet of people's deputies.

What can be said on this subject?

On the political level, the line of electing first secretaries, wherever circumstances permit, as chairmen of local soviets has been, as a whole, justified. This created a mechanism which ensures at the transitional stage the transfer of the real power to the soviets while retaining the political influence and control of the party organs over the development of the socioeconomic and sociopolitical situation.

I believe that at each stage of development new approaches make their appearance. No uniform prescriptions could exist for such matters. It is even less possible artificially to hasten such events. In each specific case the question will be resolved on the basis of the existing political situation.

Now as to suggestions received concerning the **bylaws**.

The Central Committee Plenum agrees with suggestions on strengthening the section on the **primary party organizations**. In this connection, the Central Committee suggests that this section open with a clear statement to the effect that the primary organizations are the **foundations of the Uzbek Communist Party**. We intend to introduce a number of other refinements, the main objective of which is to broaden the autonomy of the basic unit of the Communist Party in determining its own structure and regulating its internal life and activities.

As you know, the published draft offered two alternate statutory norms regulating the financing of activities of the primary organizations. I believe that we must agree with the party members who support the second one which provides a clearer definition of the mechanism governing the forming of centralized funds by the rayon and city organizations for such purposes. In the opinion of many party members, these funds will become a kind of mutual aid bank for the small organizations.

Many party members justifiably noted that some stipulations in the section on the **organizational structure of**



the Communist Party duplicate, to one extent or another, the stipulations in the section on intraparty democracy. For that reason, the corresponding deletions have been made in the bylaws.

A large number of suggestions have been rejected by the Central Committee. This applies above all to those aimed at retaining loose and unclear formulations, as existing in the CPSU bylaws, concerning some essential positions.

Nor could we agree with suggestions on adding additional stipulations and the mandatory requirement to accept the programmatic and legal documents of the Uzbek Communist Party in registering party members coming from other parts of the country.

Section eight of the draft bylaws was quite controversial. There were even charges leveled at the authors of the draft of displaying liquidationist moods.

I believe that total clarity must be established on such matters.

The point is that the law on public associations presumes as mandatory requirements for statutory documents stipulations on the interruption of their activities. If we accept that the Communist Party acts within the framework of the Constitution and the Soviet laws, our legal documents should not conflict with such laws. I believe that the Uzbek Communist Party should set the example in this respect.

Those are the matters which the Central Committee has instructed me to report to you concerning these two drafts.

#### IV

Comrades

I now deem it my duty to report to you, respected delegates, on the problems which are being solved today in society and on which the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee is working steadily.

To begin with, I shall not err by saying that the conclusion of a Union treaty is one of the urgent tasks of society and is of exceptional significance.

Total clarity is needed on this matter. Frequent claims are being published in the central mass media to the effect that Uzbekistan is ready as of now to sign a Union treaty under any conditions.

I must point out that in this case we hold a principle-minded position. A Union federation must be established on a qualitatively new basis. The new Union treaty must be one in which each republic, big or small, should be certain that its interests will not be harmed for being a member of that federation. Above all, it must be certain that each republic will only benefit from this Union.

Hence the following conclusion: the last variant of the Union treaty suggested by the center requires substantial further work. It is not simply that it does not include many of our suggestions and remarks. It is that it does not take into consideration the demand for parity and equality among all members of the future federation. We clearly see the wish of the central organs to preserve the traditions of a unitarian state. Furthermore, there is essentially no clear definition concerning who should be considered a subject of the federation.

We believe that acknowledging the sovereignty of republics, equality of relations between the center and the subjects of the federation and specifically defining their rights and prerogatives will lay the necessary foundation for the solution of such problems.

We favor a Union treaty but in the Leninist understanding of the Union of Sovereign Soviet Republics. Let us consider historical facts. According to the 1918 Constitution, Turkestan, which had an autonomous status, had greater rights than today's Union Uzbekistan.

We must also emphasize that such a treaty should be concluded as soon as possible. The peoples of our country may have to pay a high price for any further foot-dragging and the need for such a treaty may simply disappear.

The next question which affects every citizen in the republic is the **conversion to market relations**. We considered these problems in detail at the third session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, last October. The position of the Communist Party is reflected in the resolution which was passed at that time on "basic trends in the stabilization of the Uzbek national economy and principles for adopting a market economy." Today, however, we must especially emphasize that to us the market is not a self-seeking objective but a means of improving the well-being of the people and providing development possibilities.

Resolving an essential crucial problem is of tremendous, I would say of decisive significance in terms of our progress in political, economic, social and cultural construction. I believe that the republic, which has huge natural, mineral-raw material and agricultural resources, on the one hand, and a tremendous human potential and enviable labor and spiritual-moral tradition, on the other, has all the necessary requirements for economic and spiritual revival.

What does this require? We must combine these two mandatory components of progress for the sake of attracting and comprehensively applying progressive modern technology and providing all the necessary conditions for the training and retraining of cadres, both worker and scientific and technical. We must learn how to work in a new fashion, based on the modern principles of labor organization. All of this must be structured in accordance with the new production relations, on the basis of granting maximal freedom to enterprises and farms and of a transition to the market.

An equally important item in our program of conversion to the market is the creation of a broad network of joint enterprises on Uzbek territory. Foreign firms are ready to cooperate with us. We must grant them the most preferential facilities.

The republic will benefit from the fact that in a few years we shall have a modern technology and a modern working class based on native ethnic groups. The republic will be saturated with high-quality goods manufactured from local raw materials and with local production facilities.

Uzbekistan has already experienced a rather lengthy historical period under market conditions. This was a specific market based on sociocultural and natural-weather features of our area. Historically, inherent in Uzbekistan is a mixed way of economic development. This is our specific feature, the neglect of which proved a hindrance over a long period of time.

On this level as well, revival of economic customs and traditions on a new basis and the development of folk and art crafts and industries, which was previously impossible under the conditions of the administrative system, is the most important step on the way to market relations.

It is particularly necessary to consider a matter which triggers heated arguments and opinion clashes: the question of land ownership. It is our firm conviction, entirely based on the realistic consideration of conditions, the features of irrigated farming and the historical traditions of our people, that the land must remain the exclusively property of the state.

Speaking of agrarian policy, we must not ignore problems of water use. Above all, we must continue to do everything possible to conserve the water, which is precious to all of us, both for drinking and irrigation purposes. However, if we think of our future and of the 21st century, we see that we cannot do without the search for new water resources.

We consider a most important task for the republic's economy that of turning to the demands and needs of the people. The republic will be free, rich and prosperous only when each family and individual working person lives in peace and sufficiency.

Such is the purpose of the set of social steps aimed at meeting the interests and expectations of the people.

Comrades,

In presenting for your consideration the draft Action Program and Uzbek Communist Party bylaws, we expect

of the congress delegates specific remarks and suggestions. The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee is deeply convinced that these documents will contribute to the further unification of the party members and to a real turn on the part of the party organizations to face the interests of the people and their well-being.

The main strategic task of the Uzbek Communist Party is to attain the economic and political sovereignty of the republic for the sake of the interests of the Uzbek people and all peoples who live in our ancient and beautiful land.

With all my heart I wish all of you good health and success in this complex and difficult path.

I thank you for your attention.

### Information Report for 8 December

91US0237C Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
9 Dec 90 p 1

#### [Text] Information Report on the second stage of the 22nd Congress of the Uzbek Communist Party

The proceedings of the second stage of the 22nd Uzbek Communist Party Congress continued in Tashkent on 8 December.

Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee secretaries Comrades A.I. Ikramov and R.A. Popov addressed the session on behalf of the preparatory commissions of the congress. They reported on the results of the consideration of the remarks and suggestions which had been received concerning the draft Action Program and Uzbek Communist Party bylaws.

After discussing corrections, supplements and amendments, the congress passed the Action Program of the Uzbek Communist Party: "For Political and Economic Sovereignty, Spiritual Renovation, Social Justice and Worthy Living Conditions of the Population of Uzbekistan;" it also ratified the Uzbek Communist Party bylaws. The congress resolved that it will be enacted following its publication in the republic party press.

A concluding speech at the congress and answers to the questions were delivered by I.A. Karimov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, and Uzbek SSR president.

With this, the 22nd Congress of the Uzbek Communist Party was declared closed.

Participating in the work of the congress were Politburo members CPSU Central Committee Secretary G.I. Yanayev, CPSU Central Committee Secretariat Member G. Turgunova and CPSU Central Committee Head of Sector of the Organizational Department N.I. Semenov.

### Official Comments on Joint Patrols Decree

91UN0840 Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*  
in Russian 31 Jan 91 p 4

[Report on interviews with Lieutenant General N. Smirnov, Moscow City military commandant, and Yu. Ovchinnikov, chief of an office of the USSR Procuracy, by Nikolay Panyukov, place and date not given: "What Will Tomorrow's Patrol Be Like?"]

[Text] So, tomorrow, 1 February 1991, a joint order of the USSR Minister of Internal Affairs and the USSR Minister of Defense No. 493/513 on joint patrolling by militia workers and servicemen in the city of Moscow, capitals of the Union and autonomous republics, and kray and oblast centers where there are military garrisons goes into effect. Information on this order, judging by editorial mail and telephone calls, evoked an ambiguous reaction from the people.

And what do those who have to implement the order think about this?

Lieutenant General N. Smirnov, military commandant of the city of Moscow.

[Panyukov] Nikolay Nikolayevich, first of all, I would like to find out: What did this order bring that is new in the operation of the military commandant's office of the capital, and to what degree are our subunits ready to implement it?

[Smirnov] I very likely will disappoint many with my answer, but I will say honestly: There is absolutely nothing new. If you want to convince yourself, then come to the briefing of the first patrol. The number of patrols, their equipment, and their arms will be the very same as before. And the most important thing: The military patrols are not being given any additional rights with respect to civilians.

[Panyukov] But what about the infantry weapons and armored personnel carriers mentioned in the order?

[Smirnov] This does not affect Moscow. Muscovites will see neither infantry weapons nor, especially, armored personnel carriers in the streets. We do not need this. As for other regions, then, as can be seen from the order, everything will depend on the situation. But in some situations I am confident that the people themselves will deem a blessing the appearance of military patrols that

will be able to stop bandit escapades like the one that occurred, for example, in Namangan.

[Panyukov] This is understandable. But here is what else is troubling: Will new attacks not be invited on the Army by the fact that the military, in executing tasks jointly with the militia, will thereby be forced to "stick their noses into what is none of their business?"

[Smirnov] I emphasize: Military patrols have not been given any additional rights with respect to civilians. Militia workers and servicemen will not substitute for each other in any way. The militia, as previously, ensures public order, and the military patrols—discipline among servicemen. Of course, military patrols will not remain indifferent witnesses, if someone attempts to break the law or especially to commit a crime. According to Article 75 of the Regulations on Garrison and Guard Duty, for example, the chief of a patrol is ordered: "To render necessary assistance to militia workers and members of people's public order squads in maintaining order among civilians in the streets and public places." And regarding weapons, the same regulations state everything clearly: "A patrol detail, depending on the circumstances of a situation, can be without or with weapons. Chiefs of patrols—officers and warrant officers (petty officers)—in all cases are armed with pistols with two charged magazines. The arms of the remaining personnel of a patrol are determined by the chief of the garrison." It is stipulated separately in the regulations that in the Moscow and Leningrad garrisons the chiefs of patrols can perform duty without weapons.

Yu. Ovchinnikov, chief of the administration for overseeing the fulfillment of legislation concerning administrative violations of the law of the USSR Procuracy:

[Ovchinnikov] I think that the ukase of the president of the USSR that was published in the press introduced complete clarity into the discussion that is flaring up "on the legality or the illegality" of the order. Although it was absolutely understood even before the appearance of the ukase that the joint order was not a personal initiative and not a whim of the two ministers. The order was published in fulfillment of decisions of the government and ukases of the president. And, thus, it has the appropriate legal bases.

What is more: Many of the provisions contained in the order have been a normal reality for us for a long time, and stipulated in pertinent articles of regulations and even in the Criminal Code.

### Declining Influence of Komsomol Alternative Group Explained

91US00144 Moscow SOBESEDNIK in Russian  
No 39, Sep 90 p 3

[Article by Rustam Arifdzhanov: "Surgut. Two and a Quarter"]

[Text] Nostalgic effort to understand how the opposition movement in the still extant Komsomol began and ended.

For more than two years the expression "Surgut Alternative" was synonymous with opposition within the Komsomol. A line from the song by Viktor Tsoya: "Our Hearts Demand a Change" became programmatic in the movement of young Komsomol reformers. To this day, when I remember Tsoya's recorded voice, ringing in the Palace of Oil Workers, I sadly realize that we shall never again hear it live, at which point another sadness is added, obviously, that nor will the Surgut movement survive.

These notes are not a report on what is taking place but rather a look at the past. Why? Perhaps, although that may not be all that important, I know how the idea took shape.

Kiselev opened the door, clearly disturbed. "Well, let us have tea," Strunin said. Larin and I merely sighed. However, the lack of the necessary attributes for a friendly meeting, not only in the premises of the Komsomol Central Committee hostel but also in the nearby stores determined the harsh reality of the evening ahead of us. A talk becomes entirely different when drinking tea. Gradually, please forgive me, we began to discuss the Komsomol. By virtue of his position, every one of us had something to do with it.

We quite quickly came to a paradox: what a large number of good boys (and girls!) are members of the Komsomol, yet what a depressing and increasingly boring organization it is. At that point we made more tea and kept on talking.

It is thus that three journalists and Aleksander Kiselev, a Komsomol worker from Volzhskiy City, suddenly originated the "Leader" all-Union action. Having gathered together some 20 or 30 Komsomol but nonetheless informal leaders, we decided to discuss a painful topic. This initiative fitted a newspaper campaign perfectly.

Specifically, this was an effort on the part of Komsomol journalists to make a few decisive changes to halt the rapidly declining authority of the Leninist Komsomol. If our house needs repairs, let us repair it. Being realists, we knew that more than cosmetic repairs would be needed. We needed capital repairs. Nonetheless, we were optimistic. We thought that what mattered most was desire and enthusiasm. And one, and two, and three, and the Komsomol will start living a new life, consistent with the age and the demands of perestroika and the wishes of the young.

### One

How greatly we wished to be independent, and not to keep running for advice to the former apparat of the Komsomol Central Committee on Staraya Square.

The first five future "Surgutsians"—the characters in KOMSOMOLKA and SOBESEDNIK, dictated their conditions. The main thing was not to turn to the Komsomol Central Committee for help. We shall handle it ourselves. That is precisely why we would gather anywhere but in the capital, not too close to the Central Committee. Furthermore, we ourselves will select the people, not on the basis of schedules with which we were fed up, but according to platforms.

After a two-day debate in the various offices, the five drafted the appeal which they entitled: "Sick of It!" "The Komsomol is in the throes of a very grave crisis," the boys wrote, precisely during a time when the Komsomol leadership was totally unwilling to admit this fact to its elder comrades. However, the tone had been set, and out of the 600 requests which were received by SOBESEDNIK, they—Kiselev from Volzhskiy, Laktionov from Moscow, Baykov from Surgut, Dudarenko from Nizhnyy Tagil, and Putrin from the Kvarkeno Settlement, Orenburg Oblast, selected 30 like-minded people.

But let me remind you that this was the autumn of 1988. At that point neither the Democratic Platform in the CPSU nor the interregional group (the most democratic elections for people's deputies had not as yet taken place) existed. Ligachev ran the CPSU Central Committee secretariats. Yeltsin was still a minister in disgrace and as yet not politically rehabilitated.

And then, all of a sudden, comes Surgut. The "tops" were unable, the "bottoms" were fed up, and those in between were beginning to stir up. The idea of rallying good but different people was implemented brilliantly. To such an extent that, after Strunin and I, in opening the meeting, turned on Tsoya's song and banged the gong, we were left to enjoy the accomplishment for a couple of hours and then were neatly replaced. It was then that we realized that the show of the journalists was over, and something entirely different had started. Everything was absolutely logical and had its historical analogue: It was ISKRA [the spark] that started the fire.

These were strange young people. To this day, Olya Bemel, the then head of the schools department of the Surgut Komsomol Gorkom, remembers the nicest Komsomol girls in Surgut waiting for guests from the Ob oil fields coming to the three youths coffee shops.

The evening cultural program was a failure. Views were being voiced in the rooms of the provincial hotels, which did not coincide with the official Komsomol "line." Opposition was growing.

There were new, unexpected and daring terms and principles which intoxicated us, which were thrown at us for discussion, by kids from Moscow State University.



democratic unity instead of democratic centralism, the principle of a federal organizational structure, minority rights, right to a separate opinion.... Yura Raptanov, the rebel from the Higher Komsomol School, before leaving for Alapayevsk in the Urals, had already shouted: "Let us have an extraordinary congress!"

## Two

At that time there was something worth considering. Why was it that the "Surgutians" were being welcomed with such great interest and attention and, as a whole, in such a friendly way, in the offices of the Komsomol Central Committee? Why was it that on the eve of the Surgut meeting itself, its organizers were received, for a personal handshake and a photo opportunity by Viktor Mironenko? SOBESEDNIK, which was pleased with the success of this action, published at that time the photograph of the Komsomol Central Committee first secretary in the "trademark" T-shirt of the "Surgutians," in a circle of smiling members of the opposition. The daring suggestions, nonetheless, were adopted by the quickly democratized Central Committee. The new principles found their ways into draft documents. And even Raptanov's demand, backed by the signatures of all 30 participants in the Surgut meeting, met with a positive response.

The Surgut meeting was followed by the meetings in Volzhskiy and in Novosibirsk.... Documents galore had to be drafted. "This picked us up," shared with us, literally a few days ago, a highly placed Komsomol worker: "Take the scissors, cut and glue... and you had the materials ready."

What kind of opposition was this, the views of which were not only not feared but willingly accepted by the supporters of the official course? Why was it that the "Surgutians" were being offered positions in the leadership of the youth union? Incidentally, immediately after the Surgut meeting, the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau passed a resolution approving the very fact of the meeting.

Sometimes it seems to me that had Surgut not existed, sooner or later someone would have had to invent it. Everything was basically simple: An organization which leaves virtually everyone indifferent is doomed to slow self-extinction. However, the moment a little spark of opposition is seen within it, it revives: There it, as you can see, still life or, rather, have you not seen something moving? Hooray!

And we stirred. No one had invented us, no one had organized us, and no one directed us. To the future historians of the Komsomol movement, the "Surgut Alternative" will be a most interesting phenomenon. It was the failed experiment in reviving a once influential organization. It failed. Did the situation improve as a result of terms, principles, and concepts which were adopted during fierce arguments by the "Surgutians," by those for whose sake, essentially, these efforts were being

made? Did the Komsomol become more interesting to anyone? Did the young increase their faith in the bright ideals of communism?

Maks Sotnikov went back to science, building a synchrotron. Vitaliy Putrin became a merchant. Sasha Bek is trying to found a new youth organization—the Russian Democratic Socialist Association. Viktor Goncharov plunged into work as a deputy, and so on. The reason was not that the time had come for all of us to grow up. It is still not a question of age. We abandoned the tempting yet sterile idea of redoing, of restructuring a powerful but obsolete organization. Alas, what is one to do, when even in the defense industry not everything yields to conversion. A few things had to be destroyed.

Here is an example from my own life: When I was a child we were not rich, and my clothes and overcoat were remade from those of my grandfather's. My grandfather's coat would be turned inside out and a uniform jacket would be cut out of it for me, showing the clean and new-seeming side of the fabric. On the surface it looked quite nice but such a jacket could not last long, for the fabric was worn out.

Unquestionably, although it contributed a great deal to the contemporary Komsomol, the Surgut movement nonetheless died down. We were unable to redo the Komsomol. But even if we could have, the fabric would have still been worn out.

Throughout its entire history, the Komsomol was an organization for the communist upbringing of young people. For many decades it expressed less the interests of the youth than restrained youth enthusiasms and made the growing generation fit the models set by the elder comrades. As we came to realize, this cannot be changed. You are either a young Leninist, building the communist future, or else you need another organization. The reason for which the "Surgut" drama turned out sadly was that it was not entirely truthful. Naturally, the aspiration existed of creating an organization of a different type but on the foundations of the old one. This neither took nor could have taken place.

The change of names did not help very much the former communist parties of Eastern Europe. It did not stop the decline of their authority. Within the CPSU the democratic platform was not established and its remaining supporters have little influence on the situation within the party. This was quite clearly confirmed at the constituent congress of the Russian Communist Party. What can one say in that case about the Komsomol?

Naturally, it is regrettable that the Surgut movement is coming to an end. These two and a quarter hours brought together active youngsters and helped them to grow stronger. The ideas of the "Surgutians" were adopted in the bylaws and the program of the Komsomol. However, it adopted only those which a communist organization could allow to exist by virtue of its nature. Nothing could come out of this.

Such is the logic of development. Is this painful? Naturally, it is, because we have the friendship, the memories, the unique Surgut spirit which helped us to unite and rush ahead, leading sympathizers and simply those who were interested. Perhaps this may come in useful some other time.

I am writing these lines knowing that some people or perhaps everyone will feel a disappointment. Some people may even become indignant, saying that it is too early to bury us. I do not exclude the fact that some of the younger "Surgutians" may try once again to rally, once again to go on fighting. However, these will be other people and their goals will be different.

Saying good-bye is regrettable. However we may be dragging this moment out, a parting of the ways is inevitable.

Remember how in childhood we carefully lengthened the time by counting, one... two... two and a quarter... two and a half... Well, two and a half years of the movement have passed and now we have reached the final moments.

Two and a quarter... two and a half...

Three!

And that is all, boys.

### **Turkmen Health Official on Muslim Family Planning Changes**

91CS01564 Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI  
in Turkmen 5 Sep 90 p 4

[Article by Shokhrat Kadyrov, chief of the Family Planning Center, Turkmen SSR Ministry of Health "The Muslim Revolution in Family Planning"]

[Text] Today it is being openly said that religion helps to strengthen morality. If you consider that until recently our ideological climate was often defined through the bombast of militant atheism, this is a major step forward.

This is only the first step on the road to returning to peoples the cultural her age of their own past. For example, although the broad masses of the population of Central Asia honestly wished to read the Koran or the works of theologians, they were actually unable to do this: these works were not in libraries or book stores. Ignorance creates all kinds of presuppositions, as is often the case.

Let us take Islam's view of family planning as an example. Look how often admonitions that a public discussion about family planning is not needed in the Central Asian republics have been and are being heard because this runs counter to Islamic tradition. Recognizing that we had similar worries, we took the initiative of establishing the first Family Planning Center in the country within the public health organs in Turkmenistan.

In my meeting in London with Dr. A. A. Mugam, general director of the Islamic Cultural Center and M. Kh. Faruki,

chief editor of the international Muslim journal IMPACT, I complained about these difficulties. Specialists have stated that this issue has not been a religious question since 1971. In that year there was an international conference of scholars and theologians representing various movements of modern Islam in Rabat. By viewing the family planning problem in a multifaceted manner, they reached the conclusion that such planning was completely permissible, but that it should only be taken place between man and wife without compulsion.

Sociological studies have shown that when Turkmen women are asked how many children they want, they answer: "As many as Allah gives." But the bearing of children is not the ultimate goal, but having the means to struggle against poverty is. According to the Islamic point of view, poverty always leads to a lack of belief in religion. There are many verses in the Koran which proscribe miserliness and call for help to be given to the poor. Essentially, one can only marry when one has sufficient means to keep a wife, as is seen in one of the wise sayings of the prophet: to have many children without the necessary means of support is tantamount to the infliction of the greatest torment.

At the present time the family planning policy within the Islamic faith is quite progressive and coincides with our thoughts about family planning. Why then does it initially collide with opposing views among some of the Muslim leaders?

"We are not against the modern, effective methods which have been studied medically of preventing the birth of children," said one of the people at the Islamic Cultural Center in a conversation with me. "The fact that your leaders have been disturbed for some time about family planning in Central Asia about the rapid proliferations of the population in Muslim regions of the USSR creates protest. We are opposed to giving a political tone to family planning because in such a situation an association which intervenes in family life by limiting childbirth is created."

In fact, in the resolution of the conference which took place in Rabat stated the following: "In accordance with the shariat, it is forbidden to make decrees which compel people to limit childbirth."

The question is, is there a basis to be alarmed because the family planning program in our country is directed at limiting childbirth? In my opinion, no.

We think that it is not a program to compel the limitation of childbirth in family planning, rather it is a program to regulate positively the giving birth to children. Thinking of it that way means that planning a family is

healthier, better thought out and happier, something understood by the Islamic term "ygyyyar" means an effort to do the right thing. Our demographic policy which is based on the principle that the state provides help to a family no matter how many children it has testifies to this. Our state was the first in the world to introduce grants to multichildren families in 1930. The hope remains that the present state policy which is directed towards guaranteeing help to poorer families and mothers with many children remains.

### Narcotics Production Rises, All Union Anti-Drug Program Urged

90US1321A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 12 Sep 90 Second Edition p 6

[Article by V. Kondakov: "The Dandelion Drugs"]

[Text] It has been three years as they openly admitted for the first time that drug addiction exists in the USSR. And they did not mean some kids toying with improvised drugs in a basement, they were talking about a powerful mafia capable of any crime. Newspapers were flooded with gory stories, each one more gruesome than the others. And then it all died down in anticipation of some outstanding events which now occur more and more often. At one moment messengers sent for opium poppies battle the police in the Chuyskaya valley, at another drug addicts take a little kid hostage in the very center of Alma-Ata and the entire republic is under an enormous pressure as they are trying to find him. Or, as it happened recently in Moscow, somebody calls for an ambulance from an apartment and then forces the medic to give him shots of narcotics at gunpoint.

The criminal aspect of drug addiction is only too obvious and many people start thinking, for that reason, that we have to catch and imprison wholesale everyone who buys and sells drugs. But there is a problem. The police run off their feet catching and imprisoning addicts but their numbers are not growing smaller. Last year in Moscow, for instance, they arrested 4,000 people and started legal proceedings against 719. But there are almost 900,000 drug addicts in Moscow, if we can believe certain data.

How many of them are there in our country? An engineer from Sukhumi A. Kolodin wonders in his letter to the editor: "There are over 20 million drug addicts in the United States and a million in France and Germany each. If we compare these ratios with the population of our country, we will get a terrifying figure. And it is clear without the figure that the situation is only too serious. You learn all the time that one teenager is "shooting up", another "eats" pills, still another is smoking "grass". It is a real disaster!"

But the point of the matter is that there is no disaster, if one is to believe the official statistics. According to the KGB data, they have only 60,000 chronic addicts registered. On top of that the police are having another 130,000 people using drugs under observation.

"Only" would express his, A. Kolodin's, doubts and he will be right. The police numbers cannot be reliable for the simple reason, at least, that it is extremely difficult to expose addicts: which of them would want to incriminate himself? You would not be able to find such simpletons until drug usage stops being treated as a crime in our country. We do not advocate selling drugs at newspaper stands and in pharmacies as they do in some other countries, not at all. But we do not arrest an alcoholic for his attachment to the bottle. It is the same with the drug addicts—they should be treated and not tried.

The moment we do away with criminal punishment for drug usage, the entire terrifying picture will be revealed to us.

In brief, we know that we know absolutely nothing about our home-bred drug addicts and that is distressing because we can assert quite definitely, without any fear of exaggeration. In the not so distant future drugs will present a most serious threat to our society. Do you need proof? Here it is. According to the scientists, the number of addicts increases in a geometrical progression. Each of them introduces five to 18 victims to drugs a year. The chain reaction of human decay accelerates and, unless it is stopped, it will climax in a drug explosion the social consequences of which can be compared to Chernobyl only.

The facts speak for themselves. The drug "black" market is experiencing an unprecedented boom, prices there have doubled or tripled. The demand is practically unlimited. A kilo of dried opium poppy costs R2,000 and a kilo of pure opium—R100,000? A dose of heroin would cost the buyer R200, same as a glassful of koknar [opium derivative]. Last year the police confiscated 50 tons of drugs, this amount would have been sufficient to turn millions of teenagers into drug users.

All this only proves that our domestic drug mafia is gaining strength. Its annual income is an astronomical amount of about R15 billion. Teenagers burn themselves up as they get stoned together with their mates and all this serves to somebody's advantage. Somebody is making an enormous fortune out of their destruction. As we can see from the world practice, drug trafficking is second most profitable business after arms sales.

And our conditions for it are next to ideal. No other country has such a huge and practically unlimited potential of raw materials—from the Caspian sea to the Pacific edge of the taiga. Wild hemp alone covers almost a third of a million hectares and each hectare can make you rich for life in just one season. On top of that the drug mafia created an underground industry to produce synthetic drugs. They learned to make drugs even from banana skins and dandelions.

A drug user is tied to the trafficker by his fatal yearning and he will not betray the pusher either because of fear, or due to their solidarity. For that reason it is very difficult and, in most cases, impossible to "unwind" the

entire string from the drug producer to the buyer. The ones that get caught are usually extreme cases who are fit for a hospital treatment and not for trial: they are not criminals but victims of crime. But the people holding the end of the rope that entangles the teenagers cannot be legally persecuted.

As we predict a drug explosion we have to remember that the state borders will be open soon. Even now hundreds of thousands of people cross them. After the Law on leaving and entering the country is adopted these numbers will be in millions. Even if a minute group of those travelers decide to improve their financial situation through drug sales, which should be expected, the situation will grow a lot more complicated.

The press constantly reports about attempts to deliver big batches of "goods" to the USSR territory. This, probably, is just a tryout, a game of cat-and-mouse with the customs. There is no reason to send drugs to our country in exchange for the "wooden" rubles. The international drug rings will start invading our market relentlessly only after our domestic drug users are able to pay in hard currency.

The February special UN session for drug problems discussed possible results of this. In a number of world regions the drug mafia is threatening the stability of governments: they bribe officials and dictate their wishes to the rulers, they violate laws with impunity.

So far, fortunately, it did not concern us. But only so far, if we fall behind again in adopting any decisions. According to foreign experts, we are facing now a unique and incomparable situation which we cannot overlook for anything. As they say now, the lion is readying for a jump but it has just started flexing its legs. And this means the time before the drug explosion should be utilized sensibly.

Let us start with the obvious. The United States and FRG detachments fighting the drug mafia are manned with thousands of specially trained agents and have special technical equipment, but in all of our immense country we have only 900 agents doing similar work. Can they withstand a well organized mafia?

And one more thing. Speaking of drug addiction we usually rely on the medical science. True, it is a disease, but it affects personality more than the body. This disease is rather social than medical in character. That is the reason why only... one to three percent of the addicts in our country can get cured. And we are not... about kicking the habit, we only mean abste...

Our country will not be the first or the tenth to face a drug explosion. Recently we joined the UN special fund. Other than just have a representation in it we better learn a thing or two from those who already got bruised in their fight against the disaster. It is an educational experience: in the West six to eight out of ten addicts return to normal life. This is a result of serious sociological programs of rehabilitation, vocational training, and

counseling. These measures are done by powerful public and Christian charity organizations, and by the national and federal leadership. But instead of learning from the others' experience we tend to repeat our mistakes by relying solely on the law and medicine; in other words we create new myths and new illusions.

The time has come to understand that drug addiction is our common plight and the program of fighting it should become a national one.

We do not mean just another campaign like the memorable fight with drinking. It would be naive to compare drug use to a cancerous tumor which can be removed from the body of the society with one touch of a surgeon's knife. Unfortunately, the current social factors contribute to its growth.

The reader might be smiling as he looks through this article: the author is trying to scare us but we are not afraid. And another thing. Who knows when the drug explosion is going to come, if at all?

True, it would not come today or even tomorrow. And that is why so few people here realize the entire scope of the looming disaster. However...

However, almost half of our teenagers are to some extent involved in the sphere of narcotic communication, totally unknown and incomprehensible to the adults. And every one out of ten has experienced "being high". I do not want you to think that I mean beginner addicts. No, I mean most ordinary next-door boys and girls. They have not become regular addicts yet, but very often it is just a matter of time, to the great chagrin of their parents and of the community in general.

#### Trade Union for Muslim Clergy Created

*VIPSOVVA Moscow TRUD in Russian 29 Jan 91 p 1*

[V. Biryukov report from Tashkent: "A Mullah With a Trade Union Card"]

[Text] A new local trade union committee has appeared as a part of the Uzbekistan trade union of culture-sector workers.

It united workers of the presidium of the Central Asian Spiritual Administration of Muslims, students and teachers of the Islamic institute, staffers of the journal MUSLIMS OF THE SOVIET EAST and the paper ISLAM NURI (LIGHT OF ISLAM), in all about 100 people. "Faithful servants are also in need of social safeguards," says the trade union committee's chairman, Abdulmazil Myshbekov. "They, like all people, need vouchers for admittance to sanatoriums and vacation facilities. In the past, trade unions were closed to us, since they were technically appendages of the administrative system. Only recently has the relationship changed. Now, by the way, the republic trade union of



culture-sector workers, among those representing other professions, unites both ministers of religion and workers of party organs."

In the words of a trade union activist, the day is not far off when the trade union movement will envelop the Islamic clergy, and in the future, the creation of an independent trade union center is possible.

#### **Armenian Association of Businesswomen Formed**

91P50096B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
13 Feb 91 Union Edition p 2

Article by Sergey Bablunyan, from Yerevan: "Women Are Getting Down to Business"

[Text] The Armenian Association of Businesswomen [Assotsiatsiya delovyykh zhenshchin Armenii]—this is the name of a new social organization created in the republic.

Association Chairman Nora Akopyan reported that the main goal of the women's association is to give them complete freedom in choosing a profession. It is also expected that the association will occupy itself with solving more concrete problems. Included in these are the creation of an ecologically clean livestock farms for producing goods for children from the earthquake disaster zone, and the rendering of assistance to refugees, pensioners, and needy women.

The association's founders are eight of the republic's enterprises and organizations, one of which, namely the silk combine, has already transferred to the account of the association its first 10,000 rubles.

#### **Sarp Border Gate Promises Growth in Tourism**

91E50389A Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 11 Jan 91 p 9

[Interview with Sener Eyuboglu, manager of Hotel Usta in Trabzon, by Dilek Kara in Trabzon; date not given]

[Text] Who is Sener Eyuboglu?

Born in 1957, Sener Eyuboglu began to work in the hotel industry in 1975. After serving in various positions, he was named the manager of Hotel Usta in Trabzon in 1985. Eyuboglu, who speaks English, has been serving in that position for the last five years.

[Kara] Can you give an assessment of the current status of tourism in Trabzon?

[Eyuboglu] Trabzon gets three types of tourists: 1) Western tourists; 2) tourists from the Soviet Union; and 3) domestic tourists. Approximately 80 percent of the Western tourists come in groups and stay in better quality hotels. The remaining 20 percent come individually and stay in lower quality hotels. The purpose of their visits is to tour historic sites, mainly the Sumela. The tourists from the Soviet Union come as neighbors

mainly for the purpose of small-scale trading. Approximately 1,000 to 1,200 of them enter from the Sarp border crossing point each day. The scale of their trading may grow over time. The Western tourists come over a five-month period in the summer. There are approximately 350 beds in better quality hotels in Trabzon and 300 more in the outlying districts. There are approximately 1,750 beds in lower quality hotels. The hostelry business is not well developed in Trabzon.

[Kara] Do the domestic and foreign tourists visiting Trabzon have any difficulty in finding lodging? In your opinion, what is the level of prices in Trabzon hotels compared to the rest of the country?

[Eyuboglu] The number of available beds is not sufficient for the number of tourists who come. Especially since the opening of the Sarp crossing point, it has become difficult to find lodging quarters in Trabzon hotels. This problem persists even in these winter months. When the domestic and Western tourists join the Soviet tourists in the spring and summer, it is unlikely that Trabzon will be able to meet the demand for lodging with its present facilities. This problem must be solved urgently in order to encourage tourists to spend more time in our city. I believe that the relevant authorities will take certain measures in this regard. The existence of such a potential is very gratifying.

The prices charged by our hotels are low compared to the average for Turkey.

[Kara] A Soviet consulate was supposed to open in Trabzon immediately after the opening of the Sarp crossing point. This has not happened yet. What do you think about that?

[Eyuboglu] The opening of a Soviet consulate in Trabzon will no doubt help bureaucratic processing. I believe that this problem will be resolved some time in February. Our relations with the USSR are growing warmer every day. These developing relations mandate the opening of a consulate.

[Kara] What can you say about the impact of the opening of the Sarp crossing point on tourism in Trabzon? Has the border trade conducted through that gate attained its objective?

[Eyuboglu] It appears that approximately 1,000 to 1,200 people enter Turkey through the Sarp crossing point. These visitors engage in small scale trade. At this time I cannot tell whether this situation has any commercial advantages or how much it will grow in the future. But it is evident that Trabzon's tourism will grow significantly in the future if proper steps are taken.

[Kara] Hotel Usta is one of Trabzon's best hotels. Could you tell us about the services you offer?

[Eyuboglu] The services we provide are of high quality. We are planning to diversify those services. Work in the tourism sector requires education and culture. With that in mind, we make sure that every employee who will

serve tourists is educated and cultured. We offer our services within the framework of this principle and concept. We are planning to improve the quality of our services in the future.

[Kara] Can you summarize the problems of the hotel industry in Trabzon? How can these problems be resolved?

[Eyuboglu] Trabzon has a tourist season of five to six months. The remaining six months are rather slow. Although Trabzon needs hotels, no investor has ventured to build hotels in the city. As for our problems, no tourism incentives are offered to touristic hotels in Trabzon which are treated like stepchildren. The funds appropriated for this region are less than one quarter of what is spent for western Turkey. It has become very hard to obtain credit.

We have constant problems with water because Trabzon has no infrastructure. The firm which has been contracted to build roads keeps breaking water pipes ineptly, and nobody complains. Electricity and water charges are a complete fiasco. We spend everything we earn on electricity, water and fuel.

Tourism is encouraged, but only in western Turkey. I do not think that these problems can be overcome by any means in Turkey. Europe resolved these problems many years ago because they had good economies. Another major problem we have is finding qualified personnel. Today we still do not have a vocational school for tourism in Trabzon, which is the most productive city in the eastern Black Sea region. We are behind in every respect.

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